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Marginality and Cultural Identities: Locating the Bagpipe Music of Serbia

Rastko S. Jakovljević



A Thesis presented for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Music

University of Durham

England

2012

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Marginality and Cultural Identities: Locating the Bagpipe Music of Serbia

Abstract

This dissertation examines the *gajde* (bagpipe) music tradition of Serbia in the context of the increasing marginality of such cultural identities (i.e. musician, performer) over the period of rapid modernisation since 1945. It is argued that the process of marginalisation of *gajde* music in the second half of the twentieth century reached a critical point where social and ideological developments intertwined and resulted in radical changes to the cultural and musical identity of this tradition. The gradual decline in the number of the *gajde* performers, contextual changes, political influences and the dissolution of traditional values led to a stage where a once central and popular musical practice became marginalised and relocated into relative cultural obscurity.

In this project the employed concepts of marginality and identity are derived from a range of sociological and anthropological sources and perspectives, including Bhabha (1994), Sennett (1974, 2008), Lee (1995), and Rice (2007). The research into the process of marginalisation itself, as a dynamic category, has served to generate a theoretical dialogue between ethnomusicological and sociological discourses, the individual experiences of the performers of *gajde* music, fieldwork data, and other relevant sources that include archival materials and personal statements. The articulation of distinctive features of this musical tradition, such as the technical features of the music-making process itself, performance practice and its function in different localities, formal characteristics of the music, its expressive potential, and the kinds of meanings attributed to it, provide a space for discussion and understanding of the fundamental characteristics of this music and its context. This also serves to raise a wider range of issues regarding musical identities and their location within culture.

It is the argument of this dissertation that the concept of marginality offers a way of understanding identities that are in a state of flux, particularly in the collision between tradition and modernity. It examines the kinds of fundamental meanings that traditional music creates, for example in relation to nature, and it follows significant aspects of the music-making process as a distinctive type of human creativity, regarding music as a specific craft. This study also provides a space for understanding the broader social, cultural and political conditions in which *gajde* practice developed, identifying the polarities that arise between the traditional and the modern, the shifts between centres and margins, and the politics that have informed these processes.



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Notes on Transliteration and Pronunciation

(Serbian Latin Script)*

A/a = a in *align* /a/

B/b = b in *butter* /b/

V/v = v in *vast* /v/

G/g = g in *grain* /g/

D/d = d in *down* /d/

Đ/đ = g in *gene* /dʒ/

E/e = e in *ever* /e/

Ž/ž = s in *closure* /ʒ/

Z/z = z in *razor* /z/

I/i = i in *ill* /i/

J/j = y in *young* /j/

K/k = k in *keep* /k/

L/l = l in *left* /l/

Lj/lj = ly in *million* /ɹ/

M/m = m in *morning* /m/

N/n = n in *narrow* /n/

Nj/nj = ny in *canyon* /ɲ/

O/o = o in *origin* /o/

P/p = p in *lip* /p/

R/r = r in *record*, lightly rolled
/r/

S/s = s in *stranger* /s/

T/t = t in *kite* /t/

Ć/ć = ch in *match* /tʃ/

U/u = u in *full* /u/

F/f = f in *fall* /f/

H/h = h in *hover* /x/

C/c = ts in *charts* /ts/

Č/č = ch in *child* /tʃ/

Dž/dž = j in *job* /dʒ/

Š/š = sh in *show* /ʃ/

Letters pronounced or written differently in Vlachian language

Ă/ă = a in *above* /i/

Î/î = identical with Ă/ă /i/

Ș/ș = sh in *shepherd* /ʃ/

Ț/ț = ts in *sheets* /ts/

* Official Serbian script is Cyrilic. However, the language has active digraphia, using both Cyrilic and Latin alphabets.

1 Introduction: Research Pathways and the Location of *Gajde*

1.1 Research Pathways

This study is dedicated to a once central, but now entirely marginalised and endangered musical practice in the traditional culture of Serbia: the ancient bagpipes known in Serbia as *gajde*, and the talented individuals who played this instrument. In order to follow shifts or dislocations of this musical identity, the research required substantial insight into the general background, history, system of belief and values, politics and personal experiences of the subjects involved. It deals with issues of identity and change with a particular focus on the marginalisation of this music in the kind of rapid modernisation which took place in the second half of the twentieth century in the former Yugoslavia. That is to say, what was once a living practice, a tradition in which a specific musical instrument that had been a distinct part of a traditional culture began to change, become marginalised, and has now almost disappeared (plate 1). The necessity of examination of the conditions that influence this process evidently determined the approach to give detailed explanations of how cultural conditions, radical changes and many other factors caused the gradual decline in the number of the *gajde* players themselves and the disappearance of their distinct role in modern society. In addition, one of the general entries on bagpipes in Europe also stresses the existence of this problem.

The Serbian *gajde* and the *diple* are now rare, but the Macedonian and Bulgarian bagpipes continue to flourish [...]

Some bagpipe traditions have flourished continuously to the present day, notably in Great Britain and Ireland, in north-western Spain, and in Bulgaria, but by the mid-20th century many regional types had become obsolete (*Grove Music Online*: Bagpipe).

“Our Reportage: The Last Bagpiper”, *Čačanski glas*, 25th March 1959, Čačak (left);
 “In Banat even fewer bagpipers”, *Pančevac*, 28th August 1962, Pančevo (right).¹

НАША Репортажна

Последњи гајдаш

За старог Милана Оџића из Врчана, при првом сусрету и на први поглед, не би се могло рећи нешто изванредно, нити приметити нешто посебно што би га издвајало из његове средине у селу. Тих, повучен, са смешком на уснама, он вас потсећа на оне старе људе у селу који увек из свога сећања испреду по неку лепу и истиниту причу из живота који је прошао. У њему има вероватно доста тих сећања, али се Милан ипак издваја, како чух, од осталих, и, како се то каже, он је „занимљив човек“. Пре неколико дана отишао сам до његове куће. Ако се не варам, Милан Оџић је један од последњих, или последњи гајдаш у Западној Србији. Тако и он каже.

Нашао сам га самог у соби, са једним романом у рукама и са ваљарима (и својих седамдесет година на леђима). Ондах су ми пале у очи безбројне фотографије по зидовима, разних величина. Рекао сам му да сам дошао да мило причам о гајдама и, ако има још нешто...

— ...Фамилија Оџића у селу Врчанима — рече ми —, била је „музичка“ само у гајде. Мој деда Јевто, отац Обрад и стриц Антоније били су најбољи гајдаши у околини. Мој отац је, као дворски гајдаш, свирао краљу Милану Обреновићу. Отишао је тамо на лични позив краља. То је било одмах после овог бугарског рата...

Гајде, које однекле донесе, стајале су пред њим. Саставно је њихове делове. Пријатни, хармонични звуци, разлили су се по соби. Онда је за тренутак прекинуо свирање и наставио да прича:

— Ја сам гајде наследио од оца који је са мојим стрицем правили гајде. Све најлепше што је могло да се измисли за славање говора, она су радила... Наједан други мајстор није могао да буде даван њима. Ја



МИЛАН ОЏИЋ

сти девојку. Зато смо то коло звали „плавецо“.

Ипак, Милан воли изјавити да се сети кад је свирао на свадбама.

— Сватови су увек били на коњима, као и млада... Ја сам увек имао доброг коња и у пуном галопу са барјактарем, на челу, свирао сам... Било је то лепо: јуриш као ветар, а иза тебе остаје звук, просто не чујеш своје свирање... а не знам да ли знаш да и коњи краљу Милану Обреновићу.

Отишао је тамо на лични позив краља. То је било одмах после овог бугарског рата...

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да у мојој кући умукну гајде. Кад умрем, хоћу да ми оне свирају на погребу... Иначе, син сам добио у педесет пет — кад сам престао да дувам у гајде...

Насмејао се шеретски и додао: — Море, имао бих да ти причам до поноћи: кад сам био момак па с брда на брдо са огледалом девојци, а она мени исто. Него, боље да ти не причам... она моја у другој соби све прислушкује, љубоморна је...

Напољу је била псирнина и требало је да идем. Понудио ме добром љутом ракијем и пошао сам.

Иза мене су поново остали они хармонични звуци.

Последњи гајдаш је свирао...

ЖЕНА МИНОВИЋ

У БАНАТУ СВЕ МАЊЕ ГАЈДАША

НЕКАД се без гајдаша многе ствари нису дале гл замислити.

Кад је неко славао, кад се момци жени, с јесени, кад отац млади добије првог сина, кад... онај, има наш народ доста тих разлога да нешто прослави, или их нађе, кад понестану, тек — онда се и гајдаш позове, подрискујући:

— Де, гајдашу!

Па и гајдаш подврисне, прихвати се какве текућине што му у грлу заклокоће а по стомаку пали, намести мех под пазуху и отпочне какву песму банатску, веселу и бршућу по каткад крупне грањке зноја са чеда, мех под пазухом притиска и свира.

Сад је у Банату врло мало гајдаша, потребно је добро замишљати у свако село банатско, прокрестирати читав Банат уздуж и попреко, да би се неколико гајдаша нашао. По неки тек оседеди старици који је ваљда ту свирали од оца или деде наследио, узима понекад такође већ остареле гајде и свира, да би ваљда људе у селу подсетили, да и тај инструмент постоји и да су у гајде некад тако лепа изгледала весеља.

Један од тих ретких гајдаша, који гајде чувају од заборава и музику њихову, је Миле Иљкови, шездесетогодишњи старица из Уљме, који и сад помадо свира на народним весељима, а до недавно, до пре једно годину дага, свирао је он богме, често, на сваком се весељу чула свира његових гајди.



¹ Our Reportage: The Last Bagpiper: [par.3] “- ...The Ožić family from the village of Vrčani was a musical family playing only the *gajde*. My grandfather Jevto, father Obrad and uncle Antonije were the best *gajde* players around. As a court musician, my father played *gajde* for king Milan Obrenović. He went there at the call of the king himself. It was after the Bulgarian war... [par.8] ...My son Sekula knows how to play also. I don't want the *gajde* to die out in my household... [last par.] The dusk was already falling and it was time to move. He gave me a good strong *rakija* and I went. Behind me, only the harmonious sound remained. The last bagpiper played on...” (my trans.).

In Banat even fewer bagpipers: [par.3] “Nowadays, there are only very small numbers of *gajde* players left in Banat. Even if one looks in every Banat village, cruising around the whole region, one will only find a small number of players. There are just a few grizzled old men, who probably inherited this music from their fathers or grandfathers, taking out similarly aged *gajde* and playing to remind the people of the village that this instrument still exists and that there were once many pleasant celebrations featuring it.” (my trans.).

Aims

The main aim of this study is to explore and map identities of the traditional *gajde* music practice of Serbia, and to understand them in the context of the specific conditions in which this music was and, to an extent, still is created and located within a given culture and society, the practice that eventually became marginalised. The broad hypothesis is that the *gajde* practice and its identity suffered significant changes that need to be traced through the shifts that have taken place from its original setting within specific traditional communities in eastern Serbia to its marginalised locations in the modern world of contemporary Serbian society. The research questions that arise are: what formed the particular musical identities around the *gajde*, and under what circumstances or conditions did this musical practice and its associated culture become marginalised? Tracking down the process from the beginning of the 20th century up to the present day gives a large canvas on which to explore and interpret different conditions in which this music and its status changed and eventually became peripheral within the prevailing social context.

The concept of marginality offers a way of understanding identities that are in a state of flux, particularly in the collision between tradition and modernity.² At the same time, this concept offers a way of locating what are often multiple identities within the context of a specific culture and community. Also emphasised therefore is another aspect of the concept of marginality: to some extent *gajde* musical practice was always marginal because the identity of the bagpiper involves a number of different roles that are also intimately connected with his role as a player. These include being a wood carver (he also has to be able to make his own instruments), being a figure able to carry out certain ritual functions in the community, and, from the perspective of modern society, being an entertainer. Furthermore, because of their

² In his detailed discussion on modernism Max Paddison proposed a significant general premise that “all modernisms do in fact have one important thing in common: they are defined by the *conflict* [my italics.] between the process of the societal modernization and the claims of tradition” (2008:68). Knowing that modernity or the modern condition located in this study in general follows the conception of modernity from the perspectives of non-dominant (central) local conceptions, modernity is perceived as a result of particular social change in Yugoslavian culture, aspirations towards modernisation and the resistance or marginalisation of the traditional values which occurred in the second half of the twentieth century.

presence in, and significance to rituals or dance events, the *gajde* could also be seen as marginal because they were not literally at the centre of the performative process, but rather to one side as the accompaniment to such events. For example, in dance performance *gajde* were used to provide the musical accompaniment: they were important for the music-making process to happen at all, but also marginal because their playing had a functional relation to dance, and the dance was regarded as providing the main focus on bodily expression and physical movement.

The entire range of interpretations of marginality should also offer answers to the questions how music and musicians are marginalised, placed outside of current cultural strata, and what particularly influenced this process. This research therefore points to two distinctive aspects of marginality *per se* – one positive, inclusive and holistic, the other negative and exclusive. Additionally, because the concept of marginality in literature was treated under more or less strict connotations of being primarily a negative phenomenon, the idea is also to bring together two different understandings of marginality. Furthermore, since this concept is designed to follow questions of identity, conflicts, authentication of the subject within the context of the social structure, and so on, it stands as a pivotal concept capable of leading the discussion in a range of directions while retaining a consistent point of focus.

Methodology: Three Approaches

Methodologically speaking, this dissertation draws on three main approaches: (i) archival work (carried out mainly in the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of the Sciences and the Arts, Belgrade); (ii) empirical fieldwork (specifically in certain areas of north-eastern and south-eastern Serbia); and (iii) interpretation through the construction of a conceptual framework focusing on the pivotal concepts of marginality and the process of marginalisation. These approaches are, of course, closely intertwined. At the same time, they are also distinctly

different kinds of activities which have each provided the main focus of my work at different stages of the process.

Archival Work

The main archival work for this research took place between 2007 and 2009. Among the large number of sound recordings, it also includes materials from official documentation of the Cultural Educational Council of Yugoslavia (Festivals in Yugoslavia), the Amateur Alliance of Serbia (Savez Amatera Srbije), articles in newspapers, and photographs from the collections of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade and personal collections. However, the most significant part of archive materials were sound recordings which in large part contained the detailed interviews, music and other data necessary for this research. The fact that there are only approximately ten living and active *gajde* players today strongly suggested that any fieldwork would need to be supplemented by other relevant materials, such as recordings, interviews, manuscripts and other materials available in the archives. This was necessary in order to be in a position to locate and track this music through time, even though some of my interlocutors had witnessed and experienced important changes in the course of the 20th century. Part of the materials were recorded over three years (2007-2010), while other materials were mainly obtained from the collections of the archives of the Institute of Musicology SASA (over 80 tapes of interviews and music). Materials from the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, published recordings, and other personal archive materials were also significant. One of the early recordings dates back to 1912 when Hungarian composer and ethnomusicologist Béla Bartók conducted extensive fieldwork research in Saravola (Banat), and made recordings of an “unknown” *gajde* player of Serbian ethnic origins (cf. Bartók, 1978). The majority of other recordings were made over a time span from the 1960s until the present day, by ethnomusicologists who worked for the Institute of Musicology SASA (Radmila Petrović, Danka Lajić-Mihajlović and Ana Matović), Faculty of Music in Belgrade (Dragoslav Dević, Dimitrije Golemović, Mirjana Zakić, Selena Rakočević, Sanja Ranković) and Radio Belgrade (Petar Vukosavljević). However, the research of scholars such as Herman Vuylsteke on the musical tradition of the Vlach minority, Mark Levy and the dance scholar Robert Leibman who researched the music of the Sokobanja region, and

to some extent Laura Boulton,³ constitute tremendously important materials on Serbian *gajde* music. The main difference is that the mentioned materials were recorded when this music was still maintained in social context, and when a very large numbers of players were still alive. Most recent investigations and fieldwork have proved that this music and practice has become marginalised, and in most cases obsolete for the current musical taste of the people, especially among the young. However, in some of the most remote places one can still capture the music performed by older generations of players who fortunately have lived throughout almost the entire century timespan. Their perspectives and experiences connected with music and culture should be of special interest not only for researchers and ethnomusicologist but for a wider audience as well. It also means that marginalised *gajde* practice may at least achieve a greater degree of exposure with the attention given with this investigation.

Fieldwork

As Nicholas Cook and Eric Clarke have pointed out: “Like most humanities scholars, musicologists are prone to build interpretations on very small data sets or even on single instances, and the less the evidence that has survived from the past, the stronger this tendency will be” (2004:4). Although one may assume that the fieldwork is not as extensive as it could be, since it deals with careful selections of music from particular cases, this study is not built upon small data sets that happen to have “survived” from the past. The primary sources for this study originate from different areas. Fieldwork has been conducted in all parts of Serbia where players of this instrument could be located. Today, distribution of the *gajde* is confined to eastern Serbia. There are two main types – the two-voiced and the three-voiced *gajde*. The two-voiced *gajde* can be found in the north-eastern (exclusively among the Vlach minority) and south-eastern parts of Serbia, while the three-voiced *gajde* were once played in Vojvodina and in the eastern parts of the country (see plate 2 and the Appendix).

³ In her Introduction and liner notes of the LP *Folk Music of Yugoslavia* (Smitsonian Folkways, 1961) Laura Boulton gave comments on the *gajde* in dance music context. She also adds that “The bagpipe, once one the favorite instruments to accompany dancing, is gradually being replaced by the tambura and the accordion” (see more in Boulton, 1961:4).

Plate 2.

Map of Serbia



Although formal fieldwork was mainly conducted in the period between 2009 and 2010, this research also draws from many other occasions from the late 1990s up to the present when I had opportunities to listen to and participate in different kinds of musical events as a musician, ethnomusicologist and cultural participant. To undertake detailed fieldwork research focusing specifically on the bagpipe, I made seven research trips to rural communities in eastern Serbia, visiting a broad range of locations and contexts. Employing conventional ethnomusicological methods, my activities were primarily geared towards meeting musicians and recording their interviews and performances. In accordance with cultural circumstances, sometimes these fieldwork activities were well-planned and, on other occasions, they were more spontaneous (see chapter 6.6).

Resulting from this a significant range of materials – music, conversations, photographs, and personal materials – were recorded and subsequently placed in the Archive of the Institute of Musicology in Belgrade. The informants approached these interviews with great passion and without complaint and objections, sharing everything they knew, even though sometimes it included quite intimate and sensitive personal or political issues. More importantly, they also shared their thoughts, perspectives and personal memories, which I have tended to present as another voice in this discussion – one that gives not just another dimension, but also accords a significantly higher value of the conducted research. One of the most evident examples of the conducted fieldwork research is presented in one of the last chapters (§6.6) and especially in comparison with given video examples.

Having accessed details about the current cultural predicaments in Serbian villages, primarily through data about festivals featuring traditional music kept in separate official records and through my colleagues' knowledge and experience, it was relatively easy to identify the "centres" of *gajde* practice in Serbia. Although Vojvodina unfortunately does not have traditional players anymore, a variant of the three-voiced *gajde* was once played in parts of Banat, especially in the vicinity of places like Pančevo and Mokrin. Because of this, it was necessary to consult archival materials and many other sources which proved to be extremely significant for this research and which defined and positioned the discourse around this

regional variant in a more historical manner. A somewhat similar situation was encountered in the Northeast (the Svrljig regional variant and style) where only one active performer still plays music on this instrument. This generally facilitated substantial fieldwork research into a single specific form of a regional style of performance (Bokan Stanković in the village of Lasovo). During two separate visits, I conducted interviews and made recordings not only of *gajde* music but also of many vocal songs and instrumental pieces, focusing on questions relating to the identification of particular styles of local performance. Above all, interviews sought to isolate the various reasons why the *gajde* has come to be such an endangered musical practice, which will be discussed later. Since in the Vlachian minority group *gajde* and probably other traditional musical instruments became obsolete and marginalised in a cultural sense by some other fabricated instrument or perhaps other music(s), the situation demanded that the research should be predominantly focused on the recordings and fieldwork made before this research. However, certain indirect enquires with musicians and other (local) people helped me to understand some of the reasons why this kind of music was abandoned among people in the Vlachian communities.

Perhaps the most significant part of my fieldwork material originates from south-eastern Serbia where I had a great opportunity to interview two distinct personalities and most skilful players (Slavko Cvetković in the village of Lebane, and Slobodan Dimitrijević, known as “Gale”, in the village of Tasković). These interviews revealed rather different perspectives and provided a wealth of detail about the marginalisation process in rural areas, demonstrating how traditional life has changed and how music has followed these developments. Their personal views also covered a wide range of questions on the traditional context of the music as well. However, certain experiences from the past, the communist period in the former Yugoslavia and the contemporary context made it possible to have one unique diachronical survey of this instrumental practice.

On the other hand, some of the fieldwork research came spontaneously, as a result of many different reasons. It is surely intriguing that some interviews were made in a large city like Belgrade, especially because the *gajde* tradition was always strongly attached to rural areas of

the country. However, the fieldwork done in the city actually obtained diverse information. Through personal contacts with people from the popular music scene in Belgrade, I met some of the younger generation players (for example, Spasoje Tufegdžić, Belgrade) who were not actually traditional players, but who shared their thoughts about traditional music, folklore and other aspects of traditional life that were so far removed from their own mostly urban experiences. The current location of *gajde* within Serbian culture is personified in the case of Voja Stanković, a traditional player who accidentally found himself in the great city. Another angle of this was to secure the perspectives of what their interests and outputs connected to *gajde* were in this context and what particularly discouraged them from engaging further with this music. On the other hand, the variety of popular music and spectacles offered in cities sometimes distinguished players who may have a different agenda than to perform *gajde* for the sake of the music itself. In this sense, fieldwork happened at real music spectacles or events put on in a more public atmosphere. The current location of *gajde* within Serbian culture in its most direct meaning is personified in the case of Voja Stanković, a traditional player who accidentally reached the great city. In this very awkward situation fieldwork also initially “happened” while it developed in a more complex investigation of the problems of marginalisation. His emotional and exhaustive descriptions and testimonies may be of crucial importance for the reader to understand what it means to be a marginalised musician.

Having gained insights into the conditions within which *gajde* music was maintained and further developed, and having acquired access to extensive materials collected in archives and personal fieldwork collections, it became evident that my investigation required a solid theoretical platform to act as a firm foundation for discussing issues relating to the marginalisation and reidentification of this particular music practice in Serbia. It also became evident that I would need to examine how ethnomusicology relates towards other theories, and strengthen the dialogue between music-related issues and the auxiliary theories that we use to interpret music (cf. Rice, 2010). Even though the outcomes of my research were clear, based on a general understanding of the culture and my previous research experiences, I found it necessary to address source studies from other disciplines that tackle the main concepts – marginality and

cultural identities, drawing ideas and perspectives from sociological and anthropological theories to establish a robust theoretical framework for further ethnomusicological investigation, hence to acquire valid status of other theoretical concepts within ethnomusicology.

Conceptual Framework

The modernisation, fragmented communities, decline of traditional music, that is to say cultural and socio-political situation in contemporary Serbian society led to the assumption that this particular music needed attention because it has become endangered, as has already been pointed out. The clearest impression is that this music has changed its location and significance for the culture and society, while the individuals/musicians have lost their role in the modern context. For these reasons, the conceptual framework and main hypothesis proposed that the concept of marginality as a tool that follows at the same time issues of identity and location is an adequate theoretical strategy for understanding this process. With the addition of peripheral concepts explained here, the framework should offer a network of interrelations focused on the main idea to explain how music shifted from being central to becoming marginalised.

While this study of the Serbian bagpipes is in part empirical in its approach, to the extent that it has involved a substantial fieldwork element, the interpretative framework employed is also highly theoretical. Given the fundamental importance of the key concepts that feature in this dissertation, it is important that some attention be given to their contextualisation and clarification here.

The fragmented societies and communities living in Serbia are differentiated by their mosaic of ethnic backgrounds and specific historical contexts, and are mostly disputed to be influenced by the Ottoman legacy, central Balkan or Central European culture. However, uneven levels of exposure to modernity have resulted in more complex relationships between centres and margins, with communities' identities as modernised or unmodernised, central or marginal, being less clearly delineated and changeable in nature; that is to say, a qualification of

marginality depends on the case which is examined. In consequence, it is necessary to consider issues of identity as negotiable rather than involving monolithic and static categories.

Central Variables – Identity and Location

The proportions of the difficulties which arose required a theoretical tool that would be able to access questions of marginality by following particular characteristics of the identity/identities. Precisely, it is through identity issues that one could follow the entire range of conceptualisations of marginality, as will be discussed in Chapter 2. The concept of identity as such comprises aspects that are able to follow strategies of acting, roles and potentialities that individuals have for a particular culture or specific music. In more general terms identity is the encompassing concept that includes all the features that distinguish the subject from their surroundings. However, it means that such concepts depend on many “environmental” influences such as natural and cultural background, social status and many other parameters.

In recent studies on identity in discursive practices in ethnomusicology Timothy Rice reasonably argues that the discipline has not succeeded in critically and entirely exploring the potentials of the concept of identity. He says that,

...music and identity is a theme around which ethnomusicologists organise their work, but how previous work might impact their work or how their work might build toward useful generalizations or more insightful treatments of the subject doesn't interest them. (2007:20)

In this article, Rice also made the categorical distinctions between perspectives and interpretations of identity that should offer an understanding of the music that those identities create. Therefore, we can distinguish an individual (self-defined and self-understood) identity that creates the sense of “belonging to pre-existing social groups [...] authoring the self through music” (Rice, 2007:23). Nicholas Cook asserts that “In today's world, deciding what music to listen to is a significant part of deciding and announcing to people not just who you “want to be”, as the Prudential commercialist has it, but who you *are*. “Music” is a very small word to encompass something that takes as many forms as there are cultural or subcultural identities” (1998:5). In that sense, music helps us construct a distinctive identity and moreover changes

the individual; music creates new identities as its symbolic presentation or representation changes the social environment as well (cf. Rice, 2007:26-27). On the other side, this research also proposes that musical identity should be located within music. This means that identity can also be a property of a specific musical entity, a sound object that encompasses certain features, relations, function etc. Accordingly, a certain ritual song, which was initially vocally transmitted, may change/recreate its identity significantly by appropriation into pure instrumental form. However, the dominant practice in ethnomusicological research is that the identity is commonly argued as a collective category, or as Rice puts it, a “group identity” which further leads to the construction of distinct social identities defined by many subaltern positions such as ethnicity, race, class, gender etc. (Ibid.:23).

Ethnicity, individual, social, and cultural identity, being closer to the usual conceptualisation of marginality, are also discussed as questions of primary relevance, not because they point to the difference but because they mostly create our conceptions of identity as such. For example, *ethnicity* (argued in Chapter 3.3) could be one of the distinctive characteristics of identity, which further relates to the questions of differentiation from some dominant identity and therefore becomes an issue of marginality. On the other hand, as a characteristic of shared and common culture, either language, music, customs and values, it could also be detached from ideas such as nation and collective dimensions of any greater importance beyond the individual.⁴ Ethnic background is certainly one of the most obvious and most intriguing aspects that identity encompasses. Because of this, the theoretical potential of ethnicity follows, and difference is interpreted as such, further serving to provide the location of a particular marginality.

In order to place strong emphasis on individual experiences with marginalisation I am of the view that identity needs to relate to the questions of *location* within culture. Through particular

⁴ There are many definitions of ethnicity and perspectives can vary significantly. For example, Robert Park considered ethnicity as being determined by ethnic identity and the group's status of adaptation and assimilation. In keeping with many recent interpretations, Yu defines ethnicity as being “consciousness of exclusion or subordination, although it is also indexed to social practices – language, religion, rituals, and other patterns of behavior – that define the content of a group's culture” (Yu, 2001:103).

focus on location one can follow shifting positions of individuals/musicians, musical tradition/particular cultural category, traditional culture itself/in collision with modernity and the process of change which holds previous aspects of shifting identities, and observe changes of location from important/significant to peripheral or marginalised within a certain social structure. As a necessary theoretical choice, marginality offers a way of observing all of these aspects and interpreting them with simultaneous sensitivity and awareness towards identity as the core subject of the theory and the location within a certain social and cultural environment. In order to adjust and adapt the theory, which focused primarily on questions of race and ethics (sociological, anthropological, philosophical and postcolonial studies), I chose to analyse its original ideas and isolate certain aspects for the purposes for this specific research. In this way, I hope to distinguish between meanings of ambivalent, hybrid and complex identities and to ease understanding of location as a category, which defines the status of music and musician through time and space. In addition, the identities of traditional music(s) also seem to be of great importance for understanding what changes actually occurred in contemporary, modern conditions and how music was marginalised. In general, the identity of traditional music, in this case *gajde* music, comprises not just aspects of musicians but their relations to musicianship, craftwork, the audience and levels of people's engagement around music, either participatory or representational as Turino suggests.⁵

Peripheral Variables – Culture, Nature, Mediation, Noise, Craft

This research tries to evaluate the difference between two dichotomous sides – nature and culture. The main reasons for this choice are to be found in the fact that the main differences between conditions and periods in which *gajde* were maintained in rural communities, when

⁵ The definition of the *participatory* and *presentational* music-making process which Thomas Turino draws to differentiate the sense of active participation and performance in real-time, where there is no general difference between musicians and audience, while presentational signifies “one group of people (the artists) providing music for another (the audience)” (2008:51).

they were central to a system of belief and conditions in which they became marginalised lies in large part in the shifts between nature and culture.

The understanding and application of the concept of Nature is perhaps one of the most complex ideas in our language. It carries various meanings, which mainly depend on specific cultural background. One can understand Nature as the environment that surrounds us or something that man did not create or cannot control. In addition, Nature can be understood as a part of our habitus, instinct or something that can simply be defined as human nature. However, Raymond Williams argues that Nature can also be regarded as a temporal category; Nature therefore is “the primitive condition before human society” (1976:222). This idea is one of the main attributes given to Nature in this research. Following this, Nature is regarded as a time period in which people lived in secluded rural areas, where music was maintained in natural settings as a distinctive part of a communal and belief system. It also forms a certain delineation between cultures, a concept that mainly focuses on the properties of the society developed from the previous conditions of the community. Under this presumption, culture is a condition that can be drastically different from Nature; it emphasises the investment of people in the creation of their behaviours, beliefs, and knowledge within society what scholars use (and abuse) under the term culture. However, both nature and culture as indigenous concepts are most frequently argued as dichotomous. The following chapters would follow the margins of Nature and Culture by cultural and musical context which was once natural to people and their communities, and which shifted to the condition of modernity where the rise of society shaped distinctions between cultures, and therefore affected music as well.

However, the location of players in ritual process requires different localisation and interpretation. The ritual itself could be understood as a marginal process. It forms a specific reality – between the profane and the sacred. Because of its negotiable role in such ritual, a player acts as a mediator. In broader meaning, mediation as an idea can also be connected to the notions of marginality, primarily understanding that such a role occupies the location in between two referential points. Therefore, mediation is used to access delicate differentiations made in discussion on the role of players in ritual music and their purpose to communicate with

Nature or to establish the presence of social agency in the ritual process. Furthermore, the musical instrument itself could be regarded as a mediatory object located between the musician and the wider context and community.

The aspects of noise are attached to marginality in a metaphorical sense. The differentiation between music and its opposite –noise is intended to differentiate and locate music in a qualitative sense, to isolate organised sound and representation from more random performative choices that marginalise the act of music-making and negate the traditionally established process of ordered activity within music. In a modern context, this notion relates to different types of music that have loudness and sound disorder as one of their main stylistic features.

Craft as the last peripheral variable focuses on the virtues of musicians and underlines their music-making potentials in a process equal to craft or simply craftsmanship. More deeply, it draws attention to the marginalisation of the creative impulse from the individual to collective and *vice versa*. Craft should also be understood as a property of certain (musical or cultural) knowledge and it stresses the importance of questions of how it was created and how it contributes to the establishment of a particular musical identity, community or society.

Intervening Variables – The Enunciation

Accepting Homi Bhabha's notions of enunciation, this discursive practice supposes that narration serves not just for making claims and interpreting certain ideas and concepts but to establish perform, and negotiate particular identities. In his writings, it was used particularly to establish the identities of the Other in the context of postcolonial research. Another importance of the enunciation is that it forms a narrative in a transhistorical sense, thus following the location of the narratives from different time periods and joining them in the present discursive time and place. This is why, in this narrative form, I attempt to divide different narratives to give them space to be experienced in a more individual manner.

Narrative created and shaped the discourse at three main levels – the authors’ voices which experience music and culture, interpret and make judgments about those referential points and moderate the discourse; the voices of the interlocutors/musicians who interpret certain aspects of musical practice; and the contextual background of particular music, personal viewpoints and experiences of the process, and the literature which draws attention to certain conclusions on particular issues, gives depth to the posited arguments and provides supporting evidence on similar notions which have been discussed elsewhere. The result of this procedure is that the reader experiences diverse opinions juxtaposed in a particular discussion.

Survey of Literature

Another highly important aspect of this investigation is its complex relations to the existing literature. The relationship is complex, because it was treated as an alternative voice of interpretation and enunciation, and at certain moments is equal in importance to the interlocutors or author’s speech. Starting with the more general literature, I should mention some of the most influential works that have shaped the elaboration. Up to present day, research on issues of marginality and its problems are very ambiguous.

In relations to music, marginality has more often been addressed indirectly, as a metaphor or as a concept that could justify certain relationships between music and specific cultural identities. However, by close observation of literature that is mostly focused on music in relation to marginality it seems that investigation of these two determinants has, in large part, concentrated on collective, ethnic, racial, gender and social aspects. In studies of music, marginality is primarily used to examine music maintained by distinct racial groups. Examples of this include rap musicians of African-American origin in Tricia Rose’s study entitled *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (1994) and marginalised musicians whose difference stems from their ethnic origins and difference as in Nettl’s study on Amish music (1957). Similar focus can be noticed in the studies of Svanibor Pettan who conducted

research on Roma musicians and their status in the Serbian social environment and life in the province of Kosovo (2001, 2010), or the status and position of Roma in Bulgarian and Macedonian (FYROM) culture in recent research by Carol Silverman (1996). However, some studies have tried to locate marginal culture in the wider context of identification within modern societies. Study *The Voices of Double Marginality: Music, Body, and Mind of Taiwanese Aborigines in the Post-Modern Era* by Chun-Bin Chen (2007) discusses ethnicity and cultural identity, the ways in which these marginal cultures construct themselves through music, and how they respond to and negotiate with modernity.

However, not all studies have this particular focus when discussing marginality and music. Another application of this concept can also be noticed in a large number of gender studies which in particular cases tend to offer interpretation and negotiation of the marginalised perspectives of women (i.e. studies such as Koskoff, 1993). Furthermore, certain research on marginality and music follows the lines of more precise social status of particular individuals and their music(s) i.e. many studies on Greek *rebetiko* songs, once the main feature of marginalised individuals, a music associated with the lower classes, and their modern renaissance as one of the most important legacies of Greek and late Ottoman popular musical culture.⁶ Given the fact that many studies have addressed marginality with profound connections to racial or ethnic identity, this study proposes a different conception; the investigation of marginality which is primarily focused on individual experiences of this phenomenon, within one society, with its specific features, and in distinctive diachronical disposition and historical circumstances. Therefore, an emergence for sociological basic conceptualisations was necessary in order to define other possibilities in reading the “term” and concept itself. The return to the basic ideas of the sociologists suggests that the concept of marginality should be discussed not just as a intercultural problem but also from the “inside”,

⁶ See more on *rebetika* in: Butterworth, Catherine and Sarah Schneider, eds. *Rebetika: Songs from the Old Greek Underworld*. Athens, 1975. Holst, Gail. *Road to Rembetika: Music of a Greek Subculture*. Limni, 1975. And Petropoulos, Elias. *Songs of the Greek Underworld: The Rebetika Tradition*. Translated by Ed Emery. London, 2000.

precisely to read marginality as an intracultural phenomenon. Most sociological investigation covers problems of the cultural conflicts of subjects placed in-between two different cultures. The most radical move towards redefinition of the concept of marginality was made in the study entitled *Marginality* (1995) in which Jung Young Lee proposed that the concept itself has to be detached from its dominant, negative connotations. Taking this into account, I followed this differentiation and adapted it to this research because in that way the main difference between positive and negative marginality could be underlined. However, certain studies on marginality discuss the nature of this cultural phenomenon in closer relation to the specific dichotomy of the subjects by stressing location in a wider area – *in* culture. Therefore, I found Homi Bhabha's post-colonial study *The Location of Culture* (1994) highly valuable for this research because it comments on shifting perspectives between centres and margins, central or marginalised subjects, locations and perspectives followed by extreme shifts in time which determinates this phenomena as *transhistorical* in its true nature. This was the main reason why I chose to take this transhistorical or diachronical perspective into account in this study, believing that it would offer a more accurate identity strata of the particular music. Another extremely important perspective was inspired and supported by two studies by Richard Sennett. In *The Craftsman* (2008) Sennett deals with the nature of craft and the craftsman's relations to his work, and points to the importance and profile of this specific human activity believing that the craft, skills and work "transcends the maker" (2008:295). The mentioned concepts are derived from this significant research. The impact of this perspective is most visible in Chapter 4 inspired by this study, *The Craftsman*, which deals with problems of knowledge, experience and performance which further qualify and locate music as *craft*. The second Sennett study *The Fall of the Public Man* (1974) was influential because it gives an insight to the questions of identities and expressive capacities of people within modern cultural conditions. It is also significant for the location of modernity and the conflict with tradition which was mentioned before. Because of its strong remarks on the relationships and antagonism between *ancien régime* and modern societies it gives an overview of what people lost by the penetration of modernity and how they became more distant from being able to create, perform and express their identities in the public domain.

From perspectives of “mainstream” literature in ethnomusicology, this study also offers specific insight to the literature conducted in other, less exposed research. Studies of mentioned Serbian ethnomusicologists and scholars enabled closer details and specifics of *gajde* music in the past which facilitated and complemented current research in the field. So far the only significant, large investigations, solemnly devoted to *gajde* music were made in Danka Lajić-Mihajlović’s unpublished master thesis and Petar Vukosavljević’s two studies, one on Serbian *gajde* and the other on Svrljig variant of this instrument. Lajić-Mihajlović explored features of music practice in Vojvodina (province of Serbia), applying special *systematic-ethnophonic* method and achievements of the Russian ethnomusicologists (Igor Matsievsky) to particular music material which covers all music aspects of given practice, with special attention to sonic capacities of this instrument and its significance to music (cf. Lajić-Mihajlović, 2000). Vukosavljević focused on construction features of the instruments and possibilities for its adaptation to modern folk music ensembles. Because of their focus, I gave special attention to other types of *gajde* (two-voiced types) in Serbia as to provide the equilibrium in hitherto research. Among other ethnomusicological investigations I have to stress that some of them were essential for this research, and important in many ways. The most influential study *May it Fill Your Soul: Experiencing Bulgarian Music* (1994), by Timothy Rice, made a strong impact on this research not just because the main focus was on the Bulgarian *gaida* (which is evidently not different from Serbian two-voice *gajde*) but because Rice offered a wide and meticulous interpretation of the experience and individual perspectives of music that he examined *in* culture and *in* process. The reminiscence of his work should be sensed in this concurrently developed research as one of the most evident lines of reference. The most surprising thing that I acknowledged during my fieldwork research was that mostly all players were connected somehow to each other. Even one of my interlocutors, Slobodan Dimitrijević - Gale was an acquaintance of great Bulgarian *gaida* player Kostadin Varimezov, a man who was the main protagonist of Rice’s study mentioned above.

The significance of this research also lies in the fact that it tends finally to indicate the decline of an entire traditional culture and its negotiable, traditionally designed and orally transmitted

identities. For general readers it will also be a valued source of details of particular music and musicians, which shaped one specific musical practice in a specific geocultural location. It may also be valuable as it tends to reveal the mechanisms which have eroded this practice through time. Special attention has been given to the individual experience of this process, to provide details of personal encounters with marginalisation.

Structure

The study is divided into seven main chapters. Each chapter focuses on a particular condition and perspective of music and culture. The chapter *Locating the Marginal* is designed to review the essential sociological literature on marginality, to provide a clearer spectrum of the interpretation of this term from the source studies, and to propose protocols which will be followed as a result of adaptation to music material that also differs from the current research on musical marginality. In general, this chapter is of great importance because it shows how the concept of marginality was created and articulated and what signification I intend to change in interpretation.

The next chapters investigate music in various conditions and contexts. Firstly, chapter 3, entitled *The Servant* takes a more theoretical perspective focusing on *gajde* music in a ritual context, and at the same time provides some of the main features of *gajde* music identities such as relations to belief, nature, music identity, authority, ethnicity, gender etc. through a specific historical perspective. The next step, in the chapter *The Craftsman*, discusses the facts, identification and engagement with music, proposes the concept of the musical craft, examines experience and music content under notions of knowledge, all placing music in a central position and interpreting it with a more analytical approach. The last two stages of the process of change, *The Artisan* (Chapter 4) and *The Artist* (Chapter 5) empirically argue the conditions in which *gajde* music began to shift from a central position, and eventually became a marginalised cultural form. It is important to stress that the terms craftsman and the artisan are commonly

treated as synonymous. However, in this study I have used them to refer to different connotation; to follow the process where the music is connected to the craft and the subsequent condition where music-making process became exposed as an art. For that reason I found useful to locate and distinguish those two positions, one that is connected to craftsmanship, a skill, and music as functional activity, and the other rooted to the art where “functional” music becomes decorative.

Furthermore, the last chapters also bring interpretations into more anthropological focus. The main cause of that interpretative position is current, actual state of this musical tradition and the fieldwork was made to investigate this actual condition. The last mentioned chapters are also significant for the study because they deal with individual perspectives and point out some of the main factors that caused change and marginalisation on a larger scale.

1.2 The Location of the *gajde*

General History: An Outline

Serbia, a small country situated at the crossroads of East and West, has always been a seismic area in geographical, cultural, and political or strategic senses. As a country and a people it has experienced many changes throughout history; from the paleobalkan tribal organisations, through the Roman prefecture and medieval influences of the Byzantine Empire, and later Ottoman occupation, and Habsburg rule to the creation of the Kingdom and Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, and recently autonomous Serbia. The paleobalkan tribes were the autochthonous inhabitants of what is now Serbia, prior to their Celtic and Roman conquests before and during the 1st century BC. They had a well-developed agriculture, and religious system that was contingent in many ways to food production or most directly survival. Many of these cultural and religious elements can be detected even today.

One of the most intriguing facts about the bagpipes is that the instrument is spread across the entire European continent. Unfortunately, it is still not clear from where the instrument originates and how it was disseminated over such a wide geographical area. As already noted, the word that signifies bagpipe in Serbia – *gajde* probably originates from the Gothic word *gait* or *ghaid* (“goat”), generally denoting the instrument with a goatskin bag (*Grove Music Online: Gaita*). Since, in the Balkans, the instrument was frequently made from a goatskin some of the researchers believe that the etymological identification could be regarded as proof that the Balkan bagpipes and once present Gothic *gait* are in fact the same type of instrument (Džimrevski, 1996:14). On the other side is the almost axiomatic fact that *gajde* are believed to be the legacy of the Celtic tribes which were situated in the Balkans in the Hallstatt period (c. 800-450 BC), due to large migration and eastward expansion of their diverse tribes (cf. Papazoglu, 1969:210-261).⁷ In addition, changes were evident in a demographic sense since it was reshaped frequently due to (prehistorical and later) migrations that declined, though not permanently, in 7th century AD (Dragojlović, 1989:61-66). Since most Serbian (or Proto-Serbian) people migrated from today’s Bosnia and Dalmatia to the east and southeast, it was inevitable they should acculturate with the natives and other settlers. After the Roman and Byzantine period, Serbia was enriched mostly with the material culture remainings i.e. infrastructure and architecture, but intangible cultural elements as well – especially Byzantine, because it was the time when Serbs accepted Christianity either voluntarily, by legal constraint or by force, and in many directions created their national (not ethnic) identity (Ćorović, 1997). Even though Christianity was accepted, personal experiences and folklore tell a different story. After dissolution of the medieval Serbian Empire in the 14th century, the Ottomans slowly conquered territories that initiated the two Great Migrations of Serbs from Kosovo and the rest of the Serbian heartland to the more prosperous Vojvodina, Croatia and Hungary where people encountered and cultivated music under the strong influence of Central Europe (mostly in harmonic musical thinking). They were integrated and situated on the peripheries of the

⁷ After the paleobalkan tribes, in 3rd c. BC Celts conquered one of the areas in Serbia, naming it *Singidūn* (lit. round fortress) which later became Belgrade (Pavić, 2000; Official Site of Beograd: Ancient Period, <http://www.beograd.rs/cms/view.php?id=201172>, Retrieved: 16. 07. 2011).

Habsburg monarchy, having special rights but also special obligations to prevent the Ottomans penetration to the north. For those who stayed below the line, the Ottomans were their destiny, for those who migrated, fortunately not. It also means that the Serbs who stayed below that line were exposed to the culture nurtured by the Ottomans which can be noticed in many musical aspects of the old traditional repertoire, evidently influenced by the Orient (scales, rhythm, verbal content etc.). One could say that the culture was enriched with oriental influences, or drawn near to cultivated Europe, but some might say just the contrary – that the culture was contaminated.

After the Habsburgs defeated Ottomans, they created a province named the Kingdom of Serbia, covering most of once lost territory of Serbia, governed by the King of Serbia and the governor or administrator that were appointed by the Austrians. One of the written documents says that the Serbs who used to inhabit northern parts of Hungary in the second half of the 16th century highly appreciated *gajde* (Lajić-Mihajlović, 2003:18). Parts of eastern Serbia, and Vojvodina remained under the Habsburg Empire until 1918 while some parts were still under the “Turks” as the people called them. The national emancipation during the 19th century led to several revolutions and uprisings,⁸ which after a long time reestablished autonomy, and created modern Serbia. The Balkan wars of 1912-13, and the First World War made this area restless for a little bit longer. The political and strategic outcome was the formation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia,⁹ in 1918, as a decision of the Serbian Parliament that exiled to London. The Kingdom relatively restored the sense for modernity, building an educational and cultural system in which music and dance had an important role. However, the new country was not peaceful still in its political terms. With numerous political problems and disputes inside the country, the Fascists pressured Yugoslavia to join the Axis powers, although without success. Soon the war started, and people again started to move. In the Second World War the

⁸ The First Serbian uprising was initiated in 1804 by Đorđe Petrović Karađorđe, a founder of the Royal house of Karađorđević.

⁹ Constituted initially as a Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, this involved the breaking of the rule of the Obrenović line and the restoration of the house of Karađorđević.

resistance communists formed the National Liberation Army, led by Josip Broz Tito, and eventually, with great losses and intervention of the Red Army, the territory was liberated from the Nazis. That was the beginning of the new communist and then socialist state – Yugoslavia (SFRJ) positioned not just geographically, but also politically in between East and West. Almost incredibly loyal to both East and West, Yugoslavia became a prosperous country, and in the opinion of many, only its leader Tito could have achieved this. In Yugoslavia folklore had a decorative function, with the main purpose of introducing and binding distinctive nations within the federation. Because of the progressive cultural policy, which was mostly random at the local level, *gajde* and many folk instruments disappeared from public life. Soon after Tito died, the political system collapsed and gradually led to war in Bosnia and Croatia during the 1990s and eventually the reformation of an exclusive Serbian state, accompanied by major losses of life and mass migrations. The (ab)use of music in this period was also one of the indicators of change in other aspects. Reawakened nationalism drew people to remember their lost, distinctive identity. While some of them tried to find *gajde* it was evident that they were almost entirely lost in such transition.

Geographical Distribution

The connections of *gajde* with particular culture are mainly determined by the fact that in Serbia there are two general types of bagpipes. These types were largely established according to certain musical attributes of the instrument or the type (producing two-voice or three-voice polyphony, style etc.). The historical process also determined those types in general. The first type, which can hypothetically be regarded as older because of its simplicity of construction is the two-voiced *gajde*. Mainly located in the south of Serbia, sharing the same constructional features as other bagpipes from Macedonia, Bulgaria and Northern Greece, this type can be regarded as a particular feature of the culture of the Central Balkans. Although players are not aware of the particular name for this type of instrument, in the literature it is defined by its geographical distribution as the South Morava or Serbo-Macedonian variant (*južnomoravske* or

srpsko-makedonske gajde). In spite of the precise location of the instrument type, tied to the basin of the river Morava, which covers the areas of Serbia and Macedonia, this type is present over a wider area of the Central Balkans (Bulgaria, Greece and Romania). In addition, in northeastern parts of the country the two-voiced *gajde* were used within communities of Vlachs, one of the most distinctive ethnic groups of this area. The instrument is known as *cărabă* or the Vlachian *gajde* (*vlaške gajde*). One of the interesting facts is that the two-voiced *gajde* are distributed in areas of the mountain range of the Carpathians, the Balkan and Rhodope mountains shared between Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria where also similar types of the two-voiced *gajde* are distributed. This is perhaps one of the most evident marks of the similarities or common identities that those cultures share.

Although there are some indications that *gajde* were used more widely before the 20th century, in Serbia they are distributed mostly in the areas of eastern Serbia and the northern province of Vojvodina. Across the Danube and Sava rivers Serbia had a different historical and cultural course which evidently influenced *gajde* music as well. The three-voiced *gajde* were maintained over the entire Vojvodina, a northern province of Serbia. Since it was influenced by the prevailing cultural elements inherited from the Habsburg period, in its construction, musical style and contextual background, *gajde* in Vojvodina could be regarded as a cultural legacy of Central Europe. As one of the most characteristic regions of Vojvodina, the eastern area that is shared with Romania, called Banat, is considered as one of the most prominent areas where people performed music on *gajde* in the past. Because of this connection with a specific geocultural area, the three-voiced *gajde* from Vojvodina are generally referred to as the Banat variant or simply *banatske gajde* (Banatian *gajde*). In one of her studies on this type of *gajde* Danka Lajić-Mihajlović points out that this type of instrument, in its specific construction, corresponds to a wider area than Serbia; it expands to the entire Pannonian basin, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, and even the Czech Republic and Slovenia (2003:14-15). It is also interesting that in most of these countries the instrument is more frequently known as *dude* while in Serbia, despite differences from the two-voiced instrument, it has the same name as in the rest of the country – *gajde*. However, one of the questions of the distribution that can

also be noticed is that the three-voiced *gajde* were also maintained within Serbian communities in northeastern Serbia (where Vlachs nurtured the two-voiced type) and along the east side of the country as well. The centers of this distinctive type and musical tradition are villages around Svrlijig and Sokobanja.¹⁰ Because of those centers, this type of *gajde* is also known as the Svrlijig variant. In the past, some of the records (mostly fieldwork recordings) also testify that three-voiced *gajde* were used in central parts of Serbia. However, in both cases the dispersion of three-voiced *gajde* in the south, as well as their presence in central areas, probably should be understood as a natural consequence of the migration processes and not as autochthonous practice.

Another intriguing fact that connects *gajde* with particular Central Balkan or European cultural legacy and distinction from other areas is the line that divides the usage of certain instruments and musical style characteristics. Therefore, the East was dominated by *gajde* and other instruments that belong to this cultural area such as *ćemane*¹¹ (similar to *gadulka* in Bulgaria), types of end-blown flutes such as *kaval* etc. In the west, a strong presence of distinctive traditional culture persisted in the Dinaric Alps region (the coast of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Albania). There, people nurtured a different culture and therefore musical style. Among instruments used in these areas it is important to stress the presence of a single or rarely double-stringed chordophone called the *gusle*,¹² related to the

¹⁰ Petar Vukosavljević, Ljubinko Miljković and Mark Levy in collaboration with Robert Leibman made extensive research of the musical tradition of the distinctive three-voiced *gajde* in north-eastern Serbia. See Bibliography.

¹¹ Since *ćemane* is very rare the range of written documents of this instrument is also limited. See more in: Dragoslav Dević, *Etnomuzikologija*. Vol. 3. Belgrade: Faculty of Music, 1977; Andrijana Gojović, Narodni muzički instrumenti, Vuk Karadžić, Belgrade, 1989; Jasminka Dokmanović, "Ćemane iz jugoistočne Srbije – Od komparativnog pogleda do elemenata etnosocioloških procesa", *Razvitak*, god. XXXII, br. 3-4, 1992, 188-189.

¹² More details about *gusle* could be found in Walther Wünsch, *Die geigentechnik der Südslawischen guslaren*, Musikwissenschaftlichen institutes der Deutschen universitat in Prag, Brünn – Prag – Leipzig – Wien [1934]; *Der Brautzug des Banović Michael*, Ein episches Fragment, Zum Vortrag des serbokroatischen Volksepos, Ichthys Verlag, Stuttgart [1958]; Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, Harvard University Press, 1960 and *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991; Matija Murko, *Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike*, JAZU, Zagreb, 1951; Dimitrije Golemović, *Pjevanje uz gusle*, Srpski genealoški centar, Belgrade, 2008; Danka Lajić-Mihajlović, *Epska praksa kao komunikacioni proces: Srpske epske pesme u folklornoj kulturi* [Epic practice as a communication process: Serbian epic songs in folklore culture], Doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Music in Belgrade, 2010.

specific epic style and *diple*¹³ with or without skin reservoir used mostly in the hinterlands with a specific second style of music performance (Bezić et al., 1975). The mentioned distinctions show that the task of differentiating the musical, stylistic and historical features of the instrument is very complex, because of the turbulent historical, demographical, political and cultural conditions, and diversity within one geographical area.

Structure of the Instrument

Although the structure of the instrument will be addressed and analysed in detail in the following chapters (§4.1), it is essential to point out some of the most general details here. As an instrument, the *gajde* belongs to the group of single-reed (idioglot) aerophones, with single or double bored chanter (the melodic pipe), a single-reed drone and a flexible bag that is most often made of animal skin (goat or sheep).¹⁴ All parts are made from different types of wood and animal skin. The reeds, which were used also as an independent instrument among children, were made by specific indentation of the cane or elder parts. The air is fed either from the mouth by blowing into a blowpipe which is the most common method on two-voiced *gajde*, Svrlijig variant and use of bellows to supply air on three-voiced *gajde* in Vojvodina (see Appendix). At the inside end of the blowpipe the craftsmen or players insert a small piece of leather to prevent air loss. This non-return valve, called the *zalipačka* or other versions of the same term (two-voiced) or *zalitač* (three-voiced). The most important part, the chanter, called *gajdenica*, *karaba* or *diple* on two-voiced *gajde* is a cylindrical, single bored pipe with seven openings or holes in the front and one at the back. On the three-voiced type the chanter is double bored, with five holes on left (no thumbhole) and one on the right pipe. The holes are

¹³ About *diple* see more in: Mirjana Vukičević, *Diple stare Crne Gore*, Odeljenje za etnologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, Vol. 15, 1990.

¹⁴ Horbostel-Sachs classification and systematisation mark for bagpipes in general is HS422.112. On the European continent they are present in many countries and regions such as Scotland, Ireland, England, France and Belgium, Spain and Portugal, Italy, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania, Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria, parts of Northern Europe (areas of Germany, Sweden etc.). See more in: *Grove Music Online*: Bagpipe. On different types of bagpipes see more in: Ivanka Nikolova (ed.) *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Musical Instruments: From All Eras and Regions of the World*, Köneman, Cologne, 2000, 130-131; *Grove Music Online*: Bagpipe.

also uneven in measure (larger on three-voiced type), and they depend not just on the physical characteristics of the player (hand and finger dimensions), but also on the musical taste of the performer. Therefore, the tuning, although, in Serbia, *gajde* are non-tempered in general, depends strictly on the players or craftsman's individual constructional and aural or musical skills. The intonation is corrected by simple calibration of the chanter with wooden pieces that connect the skin with the rest of the wooden parts (chanter, blowpipe and drone). Some players also use wax on the holes to correct the intonation. As a result, the scale on two-voiced *gajde* is in the range of non-tempered ninth, while on the three-voiced it is smaller – in the interval of non-tempered sixth. On three-voiced type, the chanter also has an extension at the end that is in fact the additional resonator made in a shape of a horn or tobacco pipe. The drone is mainly made in three parts with insertion of the single reed that produces the tone usually two octaves below the fifth tone of the chanter. On three-voiced *gajde*, the drone could be made from other materials so the players could be inventive and for example use rubber or water hose for the drone.¹⁵ On the Svrljig variant, it is usual to add a round metal or wooden ball called *jabuka* (the apple), which would improve the resonance of the drone or give a specific timbre.

For each type of *gajde* there are several different sizes. The smallest *gajde* are the Vlachian two-voiced variety, which has also the highest pitch (in D). The South Morava variant is what is defined as the “middle” sized *gajde*, pitched in B or A. Three-voiced *gajde* are larger in dimensions than two-voiced and they are pitched in G (Svrljig) or even up to the fifth down on Banat *gajde* (Golemović, 1998:103). Although the mentioned parts are the characteristics that are most common for *gajde* in Serbia, the structure of the instrument and their dimensions or tunings could vary in all those aspects not just regionally but more locally. Making a good instrument required many specific skills. Traditionally, the instruments were made by hand,

¹⁵ During his research in the Niš region Mark Levy found a specimen of the three-voiced *gajde* which he describes with following words: “This writer has one instrument from Niš whose steady drone is a rubber hose, ornamented by plastic lacework (resembling a snake's skin) with the tip ending in an ornately carved wooden snake's head, out of whose mouth (and ears!) emanates the drone. The snake's head is evolved from the traditionally used gourd placed at the end of the drone, whose two sound holes have become the ears of the snake.” (M. Levy in: Leibman, 1973:42).

although in recent history some of the parts were also made with the help of specific machines used for wood processing. However, it has not affected intonation so the instrument remained non-tempered. The preparation and construction of the parts of *gajde* were done by either players themselves or special craftsman who made musical instruments. Most Serbian players used instruments that were carried by generations or even made by Macedonian (from Prilep or Skoplje) or Bulgarian craftsmen and players who knew how to make them.

Some Aspects of Technique, Musical Style and Repertoire

The issues of technique are ambiguous and vague and the conceptions of the players in general do not suppose the understanding of the technique as a modern musician does. Instead, there are many criteria that they use to distinguish certain musical performance simply as “good” or “bad”, while in fact these criteria imply qualifications of the technique. One of the criteria that players distinguish as relevant for the technique is, however, not the velocity, nor the amount of used ornaments, but the skills of form-making and establishment and distribution of the melodic and rhythmical dynamics or contrasts. Hence, the technique deeply correlates to aspects of musical style as well of the repertoire or the context.

Giving the fact that the musical style depends on the local or regional dialects of music, the style of *gajde* music performance also varies. Therefore, informants believe that performances on the Banat *gajde* depicts landscapes of Vojvodina, making music durable and protracted, monothematic in general, in moderate tempo and with long arched melodies. The same type of instrument in a different setting, music performed on the Svrlijig variant is mainly very rhythmical and the velocity corresponds to the dance repertoire where the relationship of movement and sound assert the formation of frequently changeable rhythmical sequences. In this process one of the significant elements of style and performance is particularly important – the ostinato produced on the second bore of the chanter which makes alternations between the tonic and the dominant. It in fact gives one specific rhythmical accompaniment or formal role of accompaniment voice to the melody and the drone which players use to produce the

contrast, dynamics and specific form-making procedures (see §4.2). The importance of the rhythmical component is even more noticeable in the two-voiced *gajde* where there is no double bore chanter, which to some point limits the range of rhythmical complexity and even velocity. The main stylistic feature of the two-voiced *gajde* in fact lies in two performative components that can exist in other variants but not with the same importance and the same amount: (i) the use of specific ornaments and the interpolation of short grace notes at the highest pitch, and (ii) a specific type of formal organisation which could be defined as fragmentary, repetitive and variational “work” with the musical motifs (see §4.4). This stylistic feature also corresponds to the more general dialect of the traditional music of the Central Balkan area, where for example in the singing style we can differentiate the importance of the drone, the specific motive “work” and also highly expressive interpolations of high pitched ornaments as one the most evident stylistic features. In relations to the repertoire there are also certain stylistic differentiations. Therefore, in the dance repertoire one can notice that the rhythmical component is especially active while the melodic line is naturally more significant for song performances. However, there are also cases where those two principles overlap.

The *gajde* music repertoire mainly consists of dances. However, in the past the repertoire was heterogeneous and consisted of several musical categories: (i) ritual music (ii) song performances (appropriated vocal music) (iii) specific instrumental tunes (iv) dance repertoire. According to the recollections of the village musicians, in the past *gajde* were an indispensable component of many rituals such as weddings, harvests and specific winter ritual processions in the South. Knowing that the ritual itself represents a set of traditionally established rules and behaviours the music was also utilitarian which means that it was subordinate to the general context and regulations. Therefore, *gajde* players acted as one of the participants while their music followed important stages of the ritual procession, being placed along other performative processes of the ritual such as narrative formulae, vocal interpretation, dancing etc. Ritual also requires a certain repertoire which is only performed on those occasions. As one of the most important roles in the wedding ceremony, the *gajde* player performed specific wedding songs such as *svatovac* in Vojvodina or a wide range of local-specific songs in other

regions. In addition, songs performed on *gajde* are deeply connected to their initial vocal origins and representation. The rules of versification and the distribution of narrative content from the songs are in general preserved in the instrumental versions of *gajde* performances. The appropriated songs are mainly lyrical or “pastoral” in content, while ballads, historical songs etc. are quite rare. Because the local people are familiar with these songs, the *gajde* performances establish the same associations and, what is also important, they have the same impact on the listeners.

The third category of the specific instrumental tunes is those made in improvisational character and in *rubato* rhythmical distribution. There are many different types of improvisational tunes which were performed not only on *gajde* but on other instruments as well. Their main characteristic – the improvisational character – derives from the specific context in which they were performed before; such tunes were made during long distance travel or when the players used to work as shepherds. Although it was widespread in the past, today only few players know how to perform or even know about this specific type of music, which additionally affects overall knowledge on this matter.

Unlike any other category, the dance repertoire stands out as one of the most important features of *gajde* music in Serbia. Every region has a different dance repertoire which means that the regional differences of *gajde* types are underlined by distinctive dance tunes that players perform as their main repertoire. In Vojvodina players typically performed dances such as *logovac*, local and regional variants of *veliko* and *malo kolo*, *đurđevka*, *ficko* etc. In eastern Serbia, the dance repertoire was probably one of the most developed in the entire country. Performing on three-voiced *gajde*, the players’ usual dance repertoire consisted of the dances *rumenka*, *polomka*, *katanka*, *orlovka* and many others. Among Vlachs, the dance repertoire was also very large. Some of the most frequent dances belong to the so-called “old dances” known individually as *ora de patru*, *batrna* and *ropota*. In the South, the dance repertoire was also dominant. Every player knew how to perform *čačak*, *osamputka*, *jednostranka*, *bugarka* etc. The dances were performed in sequences while the dancers followed the changes respectively. Mostly because of its purpose, the dance repertoire in Serbia is characterised by distributive

rhythmical organisation, mainly in 2/4 and 3/4. However, some of the dances could be also in *aqsak* (ar.) or asymmetric meter known also in Bulgaria (dances like i.e. *růčenica*), Romania, Greece, Turkey and other regions of the Balkans. Mark Levy points out that some of the dances from the Sokobanja region, such as *osamputka* or *katanka*, could have “innumerable combinations and sequences” of groups of two and three beats (in Leibman, 1973:49). However, there are many examples of dances where the dance and musical phrase do not coincide at all.¹⁶ From the aspects of music, each dance had to be “articulated” within those sequences mostly upon certain rhythmical features and form progression. After a short introduction, which had an intonative and signal function, the players introduced the main motives of the dance. In further development the player could develop this nucleus into several inner sequences, with almost mechanically precise fragmentation and variation, where the motive “work” represented dynamics, progression and complexity, which affected dance performance as well.

The Dissemination of Music

The performances of dances in the past were held on spacious village greens where people gathered to celebrate, socialise and even make marriage plans. The players were among the most distinguished figures of those gatherings and they were treated with great respect mostly because of their special musical skills. From those gifted, skillful and notable individuals, younger generations learned how to play this instrument. What they have not learned is how to transfer the specific musical knowledge that they had. *Gajde* are predominantly used as a solo instrument. This means that it is also learned by one person alone as a typical manner of transmission. However, the influences and to a degree, real tuition do exist except in rather subtle and spontaneous ways, which differentiates *gajde* learning processes from institutionalised ones. In the past, the most common way to disseminate traditional music is

¹⁶ The problems of the asymmetry of the dance and musical phrase in traditional dances of Serbia were analysed in the works of Serbian scholars Danica and Ljubica Janković and American dance scholar Robert H. Leibman (see Bibliography).

through many communal occasions where large numbers of people gathered. Time was divided according to agricultural seasons and rituals and customs were performed over the entire year. On the other hand, at many other social events people simply used to gather to eat, drink and entertain. *Gajde* had its role in each of those occasions – from the winter solstice and ritual processions for the rise of the “new sun”, spring village gatherings, to the harvest in the summer, customs of working bees in the autumn and round again. All those events served also to familiarise people with *gajde*, to mark their status in the community, to demonstrate the repertoire and other skills, and for younger players to experience and to learn how to perform music. However, one of the main mechanisms of the dissemination was oral transmission which is one of the most important aspects of the tradition. Many *gajde* players were born in families which nurtured this instrument and musical practice as one of important parts of their identity. In such a manner the *gajde* tradition in Serbia persisted almost intact for very long time mainly because the situation in the rural areas changed only very slowly.

However, from the second half of the 20th century the new regulations, institutions and authorities articulated the “production” and representation of folklore in Yugoslavia. The learning process for many traditional musical instruments became a sort of activity that was more distant from the intimate family or community realms. The festivals of folklore flourished while village life seemed to be in a stage of crisis. Unfortunately, at that time no special schools were established to offer instruction in this particular music tradition and the instrument declined, while dance became the most popular folklore product of the former Yugoslavia, maintained in developed national dance companies and other local institutions. The rise of the mass media had an impact on the process of expansion of folk music and it seems that there was no particular interest in popularising certain music instruments like *gajde*. What people could not see they did not think about. In this vacuum the general knowledge of *gajde* music, the learning, social maintenance and the context remained within generations of older musicians. From the 1960s, there was a major movement towards interest in folklore in many European countries. In the process of revival many regional and older types of bagpipes in Europe are again being manufactured and played while the international gatherings of makers

and bagpipe players take place regularly at St. Chartier in France, and Strakonice in the Czech Republic (*Grove Music Online*: Bagpipe). As an additional measure of preservation and stimulation, those festivals offered many workshops where one could learn to perform music on bagpipes. However, the revival of the *gajde* in Serbia has still not achieved extensive success, even today. Despite the fact that a small number of musicians still play this instrument today, with the efforts of the professionals, ethnomusicologists and other enthusiasts to make progress in preservation,¹⁷ the results have remained at the level of isolated attempts. One of the local festivals of traditional music in Svrljig dedicated a place where *gajde* players could gather and exchange their experiences as one of the measures that will influence interest in learning this music practice. However, the declining number of players, lack of media coverage and interest of the young on the one side, and insufficient funds for organisation on the other make those attempts insufficiently visible and are therefore discouraging in general. Although a number of potential performers do exist, the lack of instruments, instructors, contextual background and wider institutional support seems to be very limiting.

¹⁷ On several occasions, the Serbian Ethnomusicological Society (SED) has tried to organise international festivals of bagpipe music, as a stimulative measure to increase popular interest in this instrument, especially focusing on the younger generation. However, the lack of governmental support and general interest meant that the hoped-for revival never materialised. Attempts were redirected on the local level and the struggle for the local *gajde* festival in Svrljig still persists. For more information about the *gajde* festival in Svrljig see: Danka Lajić-Mihajlović, "Primenjena etnomuzikologija: Projekti revitalizacije gajdaške prakse u Srbiji", *Etno-kulturološki zbornik*, Sreten Petrović (ed.), Etno-kulturološka radionica Svrljig, 2011, 127-144.

2 Locating the Marginal

2. 1 The Gordian Knot: Conceptual Delineation

2.1.1 The Concept of Marginality

The concept of marginality could be described as the property of being marginal, at the edge of the centre, not considered central or important, on the border, peripheral, insignificant or minor. It is always opposite, and at the same time related, to the questions of centrality, since tautologically, without defined centres there can be no margins and *vice versa*. In order to become aware of what marginality really signifies, in that perspective one must perceive the centre as well. Solving the problems of marginality proved to be a necessary and distinctive theoretical concept of many discourses and disciplines, concentrated predominantly in the social sciences and humanities. There were many attempts to conceptualise problems and ideas into a unique theoretical framework, so far without claiming that the problem is a unique property of one particular discipline. At this point, I will try to demonstrate the conditions of marginality, to reinterpret and organise key points of it, its theoretical paradigms, to put out central issues and analyse areas that will govern further research of this problem. I also intend to present the evolution of this particular concept through a different body of ideas.

2.1.2 The Nucleus of Theory

The theory of marginality originally comes from the sociological studies of Robert E. Park,¹⁸ who positioned some basic problems and directions in his study on, “Human Migrations and the Marginal Man” (1928), thus his work became a sort of *manifesto* in further research conducted on this problem.¹⁹ The theory of marginality was based on explanation and prosecution of “existing cultural differences among races and peoples in some single dominant cause or condition (1928:881).” Dealing with the specific experiences of the German Jews, immigrants and people who are in the transitional social stage, individuals who are not just racial, but “cultural hybrids” (as well), stressing the problems of Jewish identity and marginality, Park stated:

When, however, the walls of the medieval ghetto were torn down and the Jew was permitted to participate in the cultural life of the peoples among whom he lived, there appeared a new type of personality, namely, a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused. (1928: 891-892)

In this quotation there are some important references to marginality as such. To be precise, Park used marginality to describe two things – (i) the subject is situated in-between two cultural domains, and (ii) the subject is not associated and fused with the centre, thus he is marginal. However, it also gives some crucial misjudgements that should be considered as views of the particular time, historical, social and political context or perhaps because of the author’s subjective perspectives, or maybe both. The question that arises here is why a person who is racially or culturally different should be expected to participate in the same manner as the (white, centralistic) Caucasian person? In comparison, ethnomusicological research and

¹⁸ Robert Ezra Park (1864-1944), American sociologist, former Professor at University of Chicago, and one of the founders of Chicago School of Sociology.

¹⁹ The idea, description and to some extent conceptualisation of marginality was first outlined and published in 1921 in *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Robert Park and Ernest W. Burgess). Marginality remained Park’s main area of study ever since.

literature mainly offer the opposite; they aim to centralise marginalised subjects and (their) music. Furthermore, why does a different cultural background need to be *rejected* or neglected in order for complete assimilation to be accomplished? Is complete assimilation possible at all? Can someone reject being racially different? It also seems that there is no need for a person to *break with his past* in order to become a full member of the community or at least have the privilege of participating at all, or maybe not. These are simply questions that one should ask when considering the beginnings of this research. Everett Stonequist agrees that “the more powerful or dominant group does not expect to adjust itself to the others; it is the subordinate group which is expected to do the adjusting, conforming, and assimilating – or remain apart” (1935:2). What certainly is accurate is that a marginal person in fact lies *on the margin of two cultures and two societies*, which should be one of the crucial points of future discussions on the problem. This ambiguous position and lack of a firm and relational centre or the presence of two or more centres leads to marginal status that can be questioned, and moreover, be significant to theory.

From the questions asked before it is evident that there are many implications of marginality, but that some of the key concepts, connected to Park’s idea, are migration, racial differences, acculturation, assimilation and amalgamation, and that marginality is regarded as a state of being in-between, eventually describing and identifying the subject as a “cultural hybrid”. The notion of “hybridisation” involves a large number of different interferences that can be induced by biological, economic or political types of exchange, but it is almost always connected with migration in Park’s research. The subject, “marginal man” is a figure comprised of various identities, trying to retain his own native tradition and culture, and also trying to get in touch or accept elements of the “new culture” which is given to him. This notion was also discussed in many ethnomusicological studies, which particularly stress the ideas of conflict between traditional subjects and new culture that they encounter (see i.e. Nettl, 2005:347; Stokes, 1994:147). Marginal man therefore always stays on the margins of both, remaining neglected. Since marginal status is defined as “transitional” it requires resolution of this state as such. That resolution is further connected to questions of loyalty or the idea of assimilation or

amalgamation which in Park's view could be effective as a solution. Park sees as positive the transparent idea that the racial or cultural differences and immigrant status in American society can be resolved by assimilation into a "melting pot":

The movement and migration of peoples, the expansion of trade and commerce, and particularly the growth, in modern times, of these vast melting-pots of races and cultures, the metropolitan cities, has loosened local bonds, destroyed the cultures of tribe and folk, and substituted for the local loyalties the freedom of the cities; for the sacred order of tribal custom, the rational organization which we call civilization. (1928:890)

In addition to this, Stonequist argues that "migration has transplanted individuals and cultures to such an extent that nearly every land and every city is something of a melting-pot of races and nationalities" (1935:2). Domination of the centre and the firmness of the systematic limitations in which there is no space left for difference was one of the negative conclusions of research on marginality drawn at that time. Park's understanding of this matter can be perceived as historically justified, but from today's perspective it seems more obvious that it is not practically possible or even politically correct to interpret it in such a manner. Therefore marginality theory requires more objective execution.

One of the main interests in further exploration of marginality was directed toward the creation of the special subject *marginal man* – a metaphorical, and to some extent artificial or abstract figure on which all the negative effects of racial and cultural conflicts are being reflected. Park's range in the creation and description of the marginal man unfortunately did not reach far. His attention was more concentrated on the very idea of marginality and migration, racial and cultural differences than on a particular subject-oriented theory. Therefore the examination seems to lack clear profiling of the person who is in the marginal position.

Marginal man is peripheral in relations to the centre, and his object of desire (at least according to the classical definition of the marginal) is to be accepted in new surroundings, but not to lose identity or "common historical memories" (Stonequist, 1935:2) of the world to which he used to belong. One of the prominent successors of Park's doctrine, the American sociologist Stonequist, was largely responsible for the further development of marginality theory, promoting Park's basic concepts in his own work. His approach was to personalise marginal

man and to determine the forms of his appearance of such people in the broader context of contemporary culture in America, so as to improve the qualifications and justification of the theoretical framework. With this in mind, the last two chapters of this study try to give the personal or individual perspectives of the musicians who are trying to balance between so-called common historical memories and modern experiences. Because of this, the music that they create belongs to the past while it is performed in the present. Therefore, such music becomes marginal and transhistorical in nature.

In his study, “The Problem of the Marginal Man” (1935) Stonequist deals with individuals in the process of assimilation and if that “assimilation is facilitated, the minority may be incorporated into the dominant group, or become the dominant group, and the cycle ends” (1935:1). As we see, the negative conception and understanding of minorities and their role in society is still active. In the mentioned paper, he constructed two main types of cultural hybrid – one that in addition to cultural differences includes *racial*, and second where the difference is purely *cultural*. Under the first model, he described a person of dualistic biological and cultural origin (“mixed-blood”), which has special relations to the host and the native culture at the same time. On the other hand, the second version of this phenomenon – a pure cultural hybrid is signified by interference of the westernised and opposite nationalistic communities in one cultural area, or globalist or ethnocentric influences on one (traditional?) society. A cultural hybrid is mainly described and articulated as a person who feels the presence and significance of the predominant western civilisation (Stonequist, 1937:54). Stonequist not only formed the personality of the marginal man, he more closely delineated the particular stages of development of this *status quo* and its possible solution. The development can be described by the following order:

1. Stage of Preparation (the individual is introduced in two societies – partial assimilation)
2. Stage of Crisis (the individual becomes aware of the cultural conflict and their marginal state)

3. Stage of Response (the individual can either be related to the dominant group or pass to the subordinate group in the role of revolutionary, aggressive nationalist, or as a conciliator, reformer etc.)

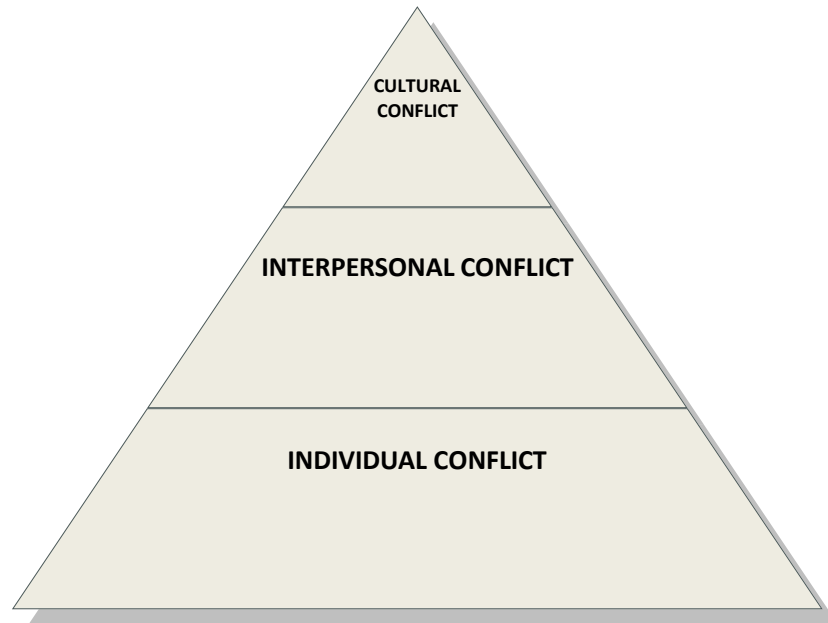
It seems that the author has confronted questions of individual location in the society, cognitive aspects of the marginal person, social status and activity under one process. Later Stonequist changed and redesigned the stages of this development with closer emphasis on the cognitive aspects of marginal status (1937:121-122). Three significant phases of the personal evolution of the marginal man are described as follows.

1. Not aware of racial or nationalistic conflict
2. Consciously experiencing conflict
3. More permanent adjustment, or lack of adjustment (which he makes or attempts to make to his situation)

In his main study on marginality, *The Marginal Man – A Study of Personality and Culture Conflict* (1937) Stonequist held to the definitions established in his previous work, but also analyzed problems more closely which elaborated new epistemes of the individual marginal experience. As marginality is “imagined” as a result of cultural conflict, positioning the individual experience is not merely a matter of hierarchy, but also a matter of progress. Since marginal man experiences his cultural Other, the difference, then he becomes a person subjected to a sort of cultural (or even mental) otherness, a specific “schizophrenia”, which Stonequist set as a mild state of dualism or “social disorganization” (1937:56). The further redundancy of that conflict could be translated to a higher level – a social group with a similar social status as the subject, and eventually to the top where the culture conflict is created *per se*, as figure 1 explains.

Figure 1.

Stonequist's conflict hierarchies



This system of interrelated impacts could also be reversible because “the conflict of cultures produces an inner mental conflict – a conflict of loyalties” (Stonequist, 1937:69). Individual negative experience here derives cultural conflicts and vice versa. Examining the case of a Bengali student, who lived a parallel life in the two atmospheres – western influenced and Indian traditionally based society, Stonequist defined two streams of loyalties that affect the individual and contribute to marginality – *loyalty to the old order* and the *loyalty to the new* (1937:69). These loyalties correspond to the marginal – centre opposition and are practically the same misjudgement of artificially dividing marginal and centralistic spheres when in practice they could overlap and complement each other. While two streams are featured, his theoretical framework also leaves space for so called *semi-marginal status* – taking the example of eastern European urban culture. This case actually is located in-between two spheres – the central, dominant (western civilisation) and marginal sphere – poised rural cultural types that reject the modern world and culture imposed by globalism. It is a matter of subjection of all

marginal (in this case also traditional) social practices and identities that cannot be suitable for the new order. For example, many musicians that performed and nurture a traditional style of folk music in Serbia, to justify the authenticity of particular “old” musical style, tend to distance themselves from the fusion with modern musical styles such as world music or any music maintained in the contemporary, globalised society. The domination of hegemonic and Eurocentric western cultural patterns in this example is taken as an ideal to be assimilated in order to overcome marginality (or to suppress it). It is obvious that there must be reconciliation between differences. Therefore, the position where the marginal man, “becomes assimilated (integrated) depends upon factors such as age, degree of cultural difference, the frequency and quality of the prejudice he encounters, and the opportunities for participation that he enjoys” (1937:184) has to be criticised. Furthermore, Stonequist concentrated on systematic closure in this concept, creating the three types of resolution of marginal status presented below.

1. Assimilation (adjust and accept dominant culture)
2. Nationalism (rejects the dominant culture)
3. Intermediary role (balance between conflicted cultures)

With the exclusion of assimilation and oppositional nationalism as negative and centralistic oriented solutions, an intermediary role seems to get very close to the most objective way to resolve the marginal state. Accordingly, he also included a definition of the so-called *marginal area* as a field where two cultures overlap (1937:213), which significantly directed the course of future research, and added to the positive aspects of Stonequist’s achievements. However, even though he underlined some highly important strata of cultural marginality, and further clarified and upgraded the issue to a higher level (compared to Park), Stonequist was not able to free the theory of its negativistic and centralised preconceptions.

2.1.3 Discursive Sequences: Convergence, and Criticism

Although the theory was evidently accepted by scholars, issues of its functionality and feasibility again emerged as a critical point. Since the phenomenon of marginality as a field of interest covers many disciplines and discursive practices, however, the possibility of improvement and further development is therefore extensive. It is perhaps fair to say that Park's global idea was only seeded in his works, and that the first major elaborations of the concept, problems and directions came later in the writings of his followers such as Stonequist who, in many studies, is erroneously considered the creator of the theory and the first interpreter of the phenomenon. However, as Milton Goldberg pointed out, marginality theory was conceived by Park and elaborated by Stonequist (1941:52). At that point, the theory intended to describe, elaborate and solve the problems of individuals or groups suffering from culture conflicts caused by factors like migration, historic tradition, religion etc. On a larger scale, it was and is a field for exploring cultural diversity and cultural conflicts of any kind. However, cultural conflicts, though different in appearance, are not essentially different in America from those in Europe or Africa as their occurrence determined a different contextual environment. Transposing remarks about the *marginal culture area*, Goldberg suggested that the, "concept of marginal culture does not depend on geographical but rather institutional and associational proximity" (1941:53), suggesting that the concept should be revised. Goldberg said that the proximity range in a synthetic manner should position several levels of the marginal individual's reaction patterns as follows:

1. The marginal individual is conditioned to his existence on the borders of two cultures from birth
2. He shares the existence with other individuals from his primary group
3. He participates in institutions largely with other marginal individuals
4. If his marginality does not cause blockages or frustrations he is then a member of a *marginal culture* and not a marginal man

Goldberg made a distinction between two important elements - *marginal culture*, and the *marginal man*. In previous explanations marginal culture was determined as the culture of marginal individuals, in this case it is shown as a larger group of individuals who are basically able to overcome their marginal status to some extent. Such individuals not only overcome marginality, but have already formed new relationships to their own environment, new cultural centres that exist within larger ones (the dominant centre). What is important is that Goldberg argued that marginal man could be socially functional even inside of his own circle (marginal culture). His idea was to include a special referential point – a new “centre” called the marginal culture. The case of musicians who belong to the Vlach minority explained below (§3.3 and 3.4) offers an insight and understanding of what here is proposed under the term marginal culture. Although Vlachs are a minority in Serbia, through time they created, developed and maintained their own distinctive and self-sufficient culture. The music therefore helps them to re-create and articulate their marginal identity and to keep marginal culture alive.

In further re-examinations marginality ceased to be considered as an extreme social phenomenon. However, the focus was once again directed towards the study of the marginal man, by *pars pro toto* system, not focusing on the general condition of marginality and marginal culture, as has been indicated before. In his contribution to this “regressive” focal point, Arnold Green assumes that marginality is, in fact, a cultural conflict that is experienced strictly as a personal problem (as a crisis experience), and that it can lead to a situation of extreme marginality of the person who wanted to participate in the social processes of the dominant group, but who eventually was rejected (1947:167). According to this idea, “there is no marginal man concept until two-culture conflict is experienced as a personal problem” (1947:169). He also disagrees that the “*culture conflict*” is the variable, and the “*old identification*” the constant – emphasis added (p. 170). In that sense, the definition tends to mark cultural conflict as a result of evident and firm cultural difference, while “old identification” is a general pivot of subject’s identification.

Questions of identification have been more examined by Everett Hughes who positioned identity/identification in correlation with matters of social *status*. As he presumes, a “status is a

term of society in that it refers specifically to a system of relations between people. But the definition of a status lies in culture" (1949:59). He also stress that "essential features of a person's status may be his identification with culture" (p.59).

In the modern Serbian society musicians (as a profession) are mostly perceived as individuals whose activity is to some extent problematic for the society. This is especially noticed in comparison to other vocations such as medical doctors, lawyers, bankers and economists. Because of that, the location and status in the society tends to dislocate them to the margins while through their status the musicians fail to identify within the wider social body.

Accordingly, one can ask whether marginality may be treated as a specific kind of status or if, compared with the centralistic point of view, it should be defined as a lack of the same. The answer is that marginality is a special kind of existence; it is a product of "undefined"²⁰ status, and/or impossibility of a sort of "complete" identification. In many cases marginal status can develop under political relations between the dominant groups and (different) individuals, and thus such status depends on the stage of evolution of the society as such. Those changes depend on the social ability to suppress stereotypes and accept what is different, while the individual should adapt to the environment without discarding his marks of difference. In both cases marginal status does seems to depend on different intra-social processes. For example, in pluralistic (democratic) societies and cultures it is natural and desirable that every institution should employ "different" kinds of people that once shared marginal status, like African-Americans, women, disabled persons etc. Then it seems what is marginal in one culture or even one historical moment does not have to be in another, and it rather depends on social awareness, communal practices and political conditions. Marginality therefore becomes a relative category because it depends largely upon perception of the marginal man, and on the other side on social ethics development, or the *ratio* of the dominant culture.

The next key stage was David Golovensky's critique on marginality. He disagreed on most of the issues of the theory, supposing that "marginality, in its broadest sense, may belong to the

²⁰ Undefined status here can be also treated as multiplicative or bicultural status of person who is unable to be inclined to include one or more cultural identity which will be discussed further.

genus of sociological and psychological phenomena that are created by the theorist to 'discover' them" (1952:339). However, his focus was to describe and define the dualistic nature of the marginal man, believing that duality of culture can provoke personal duality (1952:334). He also addressed the problems of loyalty to the "old" and "new" order, which has been mentioned before, implying that multiple loyalties do not need to be conflicted or disorganising (1952:336). He believed that marginality does not need to be considered as a negative social phenomenon, but as a part of a progressive social process, empowered by the migration and mobility of people and any other conditions that set the subject in a position of otherness. Instead of focusing on the negative, Golovensky rather looked on marginality as a *modus vivendi*, a "pattern of organised dualism" or cultural duplexity, and biculturalism (1952:334). Marking the fresh and contradictive position his argumentation contributed to a positivistic attitude towards this phenomenon and opened a space for questioning the validity of marginal theory.

The dualistic nature of the marginal man and his ambivalent identification are discussed in works of Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955), where they processed the issues of marginalisation of the Indian "rebel" population comparing it with Caucasian centres. In their research, on the hypothesis that marginality is actually "occupying a status in society which is between two incompatible social categories" (1955:49), marginality was largely described as a problem of status. It is difficult to define marginality as a status that includes the position of a person between two "incompatible" sides when is not actually defined what is supposed to be "incompatible", and in what terms? If we discuss questions of race, then we can be aware of the difference, but one can also ask whether that differentiation is justified, and how it is relevant for questions of status? One can only be incompatible if perceived so from a centralistic position; in that sense an Indian child has "incompatible" status if it is compared with Caucasian one. On the other side, gender, economic or cultural status can also be questioned as unjustified, and in many cases the incompatibilities can prove the opposite. They

can be productive and in some cases status-productive.²¹ Kerckhoff and McCormick stress that marginality theory should be observed on two major levels (i) Questions that are focused on the social status of the subject and (ii) Personal questions of the marginal man. This should mean that the distinction between discussing “marginal position”, and “developing psychological symptoms of marginality” can be placed in research as core perspectives (1955:50). However, their distinction is not entirely new. It is what Stonequist formerly suggested when he made a differentiation between marginality and marginal man, focusing on location and status on one side and on the psychological traits of the subject on the other. However, Kerckhoff and McCormick were right in one aspect of this distinction that seems to be relevant; it is essential to have in mind that a marginal subject (or individual that occupies marginal status) does not necessarily need to develop characteristics of the marginalised personality (1955:50). Those crossover cases demonstrate that marginality is not the same for everyone, not even for every member of a marginal group. It also indicates that a possible distinction between marginal and marginalised could be drawn as well. It should be no surprise that Kerckhoff and McCormick suggested discussion of what they called permeable cases. They suggest that “the tendency of a member of the subordinate group to identify with the dominant group increases with the permeability of the barrier confronting him” (1955:54). In other words, the further away the dominant group appears to be, the greater the aspiration of the marginal group to become a part of it.

One further example should help us to understand better the importance of this notion for music. During the communistic-socialistic period in the former Yugoslavia, many local musicians had to learn how to become appropriate and authentic or validated and accepted with their music for the new social system, ideology and its specific politics. The more authorities tried to make folk music modern and progressive the more musicians themselves became marginalised.

²¹ In many developed societies we can observe that some “incompatible” categories of people (marginalised on some level), are encouraged to participate in official institutions (i.e. government, ministries etc.) because their role and difference is employed for a greater cause and therefore highly valued and important. In those cases marginal people can benefit and become status-productive or advantaged in terms of gaining the social status that they deserve.

Although this argument on marginality has stronger attachments in reality, it is still vague in the details of how a subject actually becomes marginal and how this location can be resolved. Because of incompatibilities of the following perspectives, the proposed system lacks constructive evidence, which means that it is still not a complete theoretical framework.

The question of the validity of the theory and qualifications were the subject of Aaron Antonovsky's research who attributed the lack of empirical foundation of the former investigations (1956:57). Antonovsky also thought that, since intellectuals are marginal persons, their studies ought to become a matter of self-study, and this could explain why he characterised such writings merely as "discussion papers" at the first point (p. 57). Questioning the marginalisation of Jewish people in the USA, he managed to (re)suggest marginal features, and most of categories were thus only re-exposed.²² However, he found that the boundaries between centre and the marginal were permeable enough, and that it allows the acceptance and adoption of content and forms/patterns of the dominant culture (cf. fn. 5). Having in mind that most of papers discussed have the tendency to approach and equate marginality with specific forms of cultural contact (i.e. acculturation) he underlined marginality as being different from "diffusion of culture between relatively independent societies [...] rapid acculturation and assimilation of individuals or fragmented groupings", alienation, anomie etc. (p. 57). Even though there are basic confusions regarding marginality and acculturation. For instance, it can be asked if marginality should perhaps include all sorts of cultural contacts or collisions. Both marginal and acculturative, in their concepts involve kinds of cultural exchange, and although acculturation still recognises the type and respect of those distinctions of both cultural groups that came into direct contact, in marginality, the dominant centre tends to assimilate different individuals. One can agree that those are not synonymous relations, but

²² Features that Antonovsky suggested are as follows: 1. Two cultures (or subcultures) are in lasting contact 2. One of them is dominant in terms of power and reward potential. This is the non-marginal culture of the two. 3. The boundaries between the two are sufficiently permeable for the members of the marginal culture to internalise the patterns of the dominant culture as well as that of their own. 4. Patterns, in their entirety, cannot be easily harmonised. 5. Having acquired the goals of the non-marginal culture, members of the marginal group are pulled by the promise of the greater rewards offer. 6. The barriers between the two tend to be hardened by discrimination from the one side, and the pressure against "betrayal" from the other. 7. Marginality acquires particular intensity when the clash persists through more than one generation (1956:57).

neither are they so distant from each other. Instead, marginality can be observed as the result of some operational cultural contact, than it is an independent phenomenon of. Antonovsky discussed some other shortcomings of the theory formed in Park's and Stonequist's works and made a clear reaction to their great involvement in individual features ("the psychological consequences of the marginality"), while the problems of the very concept or social/cultural contact/conflict and other aspects were vague (1956:58).

However, even though Antonovsky's argument was partly true, Stonequist contributed to the concept development and made the distinctions of the two issue areas – situation and personality (1937:9). Only the further investigations of Dickie-Clarks (1966) led to the transparent and effective implementation of knowledge where the two major directions in research on marginality configured hierarchical models and its correlation and social manifestations. He distinguished (i) psychological direction – focusing on the particulars of the marginal man and his psychological traits, and (ii) sociological, directed to specific questions about marginal groups and relations *to* and *in* the society. Pointing out that most Park/Stonequist followers were reticent on the problems of the marginal man and psychological effects of cultural conflict (marked as *marginal personality*), and that the sociological aspects of marginality were more or less vague, he suggested a new approach – a *marginal situation*. Defining marginality, and the effects of easily detected inconsistencies in well-defined hierarchies (i.e. military or ecclesiastical organisations, as proposed), he subtly recognised that inside of the community marginality will occur where the managed hierarchy is insufficiently firm or well conducted. In his paper, the marginal situation is eventually defined as, "those hierarchical situations in which there is any inconsistency in the rankings in any of the matters falling within the scope of the hierarchy" (1966:367). Further on it is unclear what is considered inconsistent, is it the marginal situation that is problematic to the hierarchical system or the marginal situation that is ranked and hierarchically organised? One can assume that the answers will be rather ambiguous; a marginal situation can be addressed as an impact on a hierarchically organised society and community, but it can also be seen as a special type of hierarchical order, enclosing supreme, central order and what is sub-ordered at the same time.

To understand this point, we can recall the previously mentioned case of the marginalisation of the local village musicians during communism and socialism in former Yugoslavia. The structure of authorities, which represented the centre, was highly organised and hierarchical. The musicians were articulated by the local cultural institutions, but they also stayed in their subordinate and marginalised position, mostly because they were not fused entirely with the new conditions in which folk music was maintained.

Dickie-Clark further clarified that, “the marginal character of situations could, instead, be seen as the result of any departure from complete consistency or congruence along the rankings of an individual or stratum in the various matters regulated by the hierarchy” (1966:367). According to this, the marginal situation is regarded as a reaction of people to the person already in marginal situation of an inconsistently ranked social/hierarchical system, and accurately psychological conflicts are the result of that inconsistency. In addition Dickie-Clark suggested that:

Neither biological factors such as racial mixture and appearance, nor psychological factors such as “double consciousness” and divided loyalty have any place in the definition which rests entirely on the inconsistencies of ranking. Marginal situations of this kind have important consequences for the people in them, quite apart from any personality traits which they may develop as a result of such situations (1966:367)

Contrary to previous interpretations focused on the continuous improvement of concepts and theories, some works have tried to make a clear systematisation of existing research areas. In addressing the articulation of the concept in an existing literature, Noel Gist concludes that marginality does not necessarily seem to be a negative phenomenon, but that the repercussions of this social problem certainly can be extreme in the social sense (1967), as Golovensky had already asserted. This means that marginality does not refer to a syndrome or systematic error in social relations, but that such status can also be harmonised and positive above all. Gist conducted empirical analysis of the Anglo-Indian population in India. Observing the marginal status that this population and individuals have, he found that specific group of people are socially marginal in relations to the British community in India, and socially and culturally marginal when compared to India’s native people. Thus, he argued for a clear distinction between two causable and connected areas of marginality: (i) Social marginality, and

(ii) Cultural marginality,²³ pointing out that similar distinctions had been made in the research of Dickie-Clark. However, a clearer distinction of these two fields of research and clearer systematisation of the “chaotic” organisation and fields of research was a matter discussed by Wright & Wright (1972) who also advocated further refinement of the theory. Their conclusions showed that marginality as a field of research deserves attention, but that this area never came to the point of clear systematisation. Scholars who have studied these problems have been too restrictive on one side (Park, Stonequist, Goldberg, Golovensky etc.), or too liberal – all-inclusive (i.e. Hughes) in their interpretation and definition of marginality. From their point of view, marginality needed further refinement and systematic organisation, which they attempted by creating a “starting place – again” (1972:368). The authors isolated five key concepts of the theory, emphasising the work of Green, who stressed the need to systematise, and Gist for making the distinction between cultural and social marginality.

1. Marginality
2. Marginal man
3. Cultural marginality
4. Social marginality
5. Psychological marginality

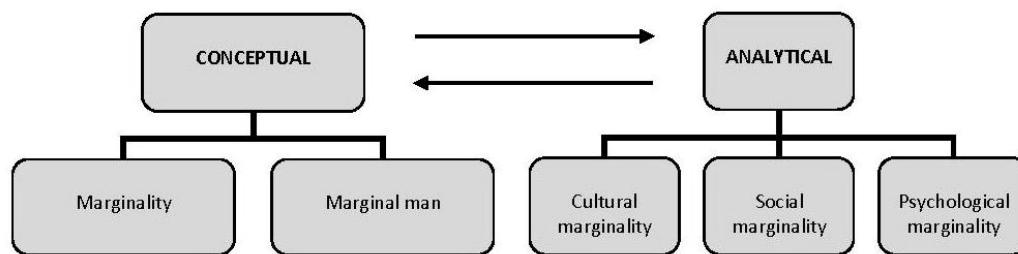
Wright & Wright noticed that such concepts and the levels of their differentiation in literature are mainly treated synonymously, suggesting that they are not supposed to be exclusive but rather that they do overlap and have a mutual impact (1972:365). Going further, they believe that in reality, and research as well, two major categories could be drawn: (i) Conceptual, and (ii) Analytical. What is important to add to this interpretation is that these two categories also affect and define each other, while this mechanism should be followed at lower sublevels. The

²³ According to Gist, social marginality “refers to the position of a group as indicated by the interpersonal or intergroup relationships with one or more different groups, and to the attitudes and “images” that tend to shape these relationships. Cultural marginality refers to the marginal or peripheral position of a group with respect to the beliefs, traditions, social organisation, patterned behavior, and system values that distinguish it from other groups or communities” (1967:365).

marginal phenomenon empirically refers to the conceptual as the conceptual directs us back to the analytical again, so it seems that this can be argued and treated as a natural system of relations where research of one establishes understanding of the other and *vice versa* (fig. 2).

Figure 2.

Conceptual and Analytical Delineation



Regarding the conceptual framework of the theory, the authors further suggested that research on the specific matter of bilateral relationships between dominant and marginal groups should be given the highest importance. They also believed that, “the concept of marginality has reference to the general and all-inclusive situation that exists when a group is situated on the periphery of, has continuous interaction with, has dependency upon, and deviates in certain socially normative patterns from, a more dominant group” (1972:366). Rejecting the Park-Stonequist definition of marginal man, they suggest that the subject should be perceived as a separate entity that is unable or unwilling to assimilate into one or more dominant groups. The process of assimilation is further connected to the question of “normative patterns” on which depends the extent and possibilities of such a merger. Thus, from Wright & Wright’s description and the specific context that they suppose, the “normative patterns” are behavioural procedures that the marginal man is supposed to accept in order to become a part of – or closer to the dominant community. They are special objects of assimilation and such objects are of great importance for the whole process of integration, and as authors believe, a theory should focus on the incompatibility issues that lie in-between marginal man and the dominant community. In addition to considerable explication and systematisation, Wright & Wright also repeated questions and direction of Park’s research, and among these included notions, which

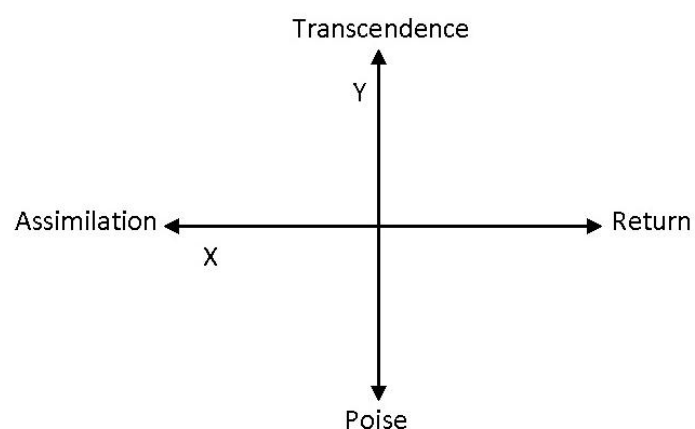
had been neglected in most cases - *the question of marginality of people who are in the process of transition from traditional to modern society* – emphasis added (1972:362). A vast number of relevant ethnomusicological studies indicate that their subjects in fact demonstrate similar or exact dislocations of musicians from their social surroundings in the (post)modern era. While they search for issues and causes of this apparent change process, it seems that in the case of marginality a theory could offer many different scopes of the same thing, such as identity issues, location, status and relationship, placing it under one pivotal concept such as marginality. Since transition in this sense is connected to globalisation, urbanisation, and other related problems, it can be considered as a special cause of marginality.

Although several previous researchers pointed out some crucial systematic faults and refinement possibilities of the theory, in Adam Weisberger's research, marginality was treated as a social product that produces several behavioural responses to it. Namely, revising Park's idea, he concluded that Park's initial idea was to present marginal man as a, "foreigner who is on the road to successful assimilation, joining the dominant culture and sacrificing his ethnic peculiarities to the melting pot" (1992:428). Although he adopted Park's idea as a reference point for the theory, it seems that Weisberger is more concerned about the result and post-marginal (re)action than to re-examine the whole concept again, as was done before him. But in his case marginality is again articulated as a negative phenomenon, treating marginal man as a poor, culturally unallocated and socially neglected person, "faced with the dominance of the host culture in cultural issues such as language, custom, mores, habits of thought, religion – all of which he encounters as a stranger" (1992:431). Nevertheless, Weisberger offered new dimensions and solutions which are represented as a next step in developing the theory, possibly following Stonequist's "stage of resolution" or classification of marginality resolution types. Weisberger's idea was not to discuss marginality as a complex social phenomenon solemnly, but to define "cross-cutting pressures" or responses to it, designed to resolve or alleviate the structure of so-called *double ambivalence*, which duplicates Golovensky's idea of "cultural dualism". He argued that the marginal man is a person who tries to communicate or make permanent contact with the new, host culture but is unable to do so, and on the other

side tries to return unchanged to his old, native culture, but cannot. Thus, marginality consequently develops four types of responses; **Assimilation** implies absorption of the cultural standards of the host culture, which tends to eliminate the practices and beliefs of the native culture. **Return** represents the possibility of the subject to return to his original, native cultural circle, but as he has already made contact with the new culture, any further reestablishment is regarded as reconstruction or transformation rather than pure and unaffected return – the subject always, “interprets the original culture in new terms” (1992:430). The third response is **transcendence** and it is close to real marginality resolution, Goldbergs *marginal culture* concept or Stonequists “intermediary role”. It is an attempt to overcome the divergence of two confronted cultures by surpassing, and thus offering their reconciliation. Political identity (i.e. communism) or other third-party solution (i.e. masonry) will make that desirable “neutral position” that can consequently establish one identity that is hierarchically above the conflicted two. The last mode is **poise**, which Weissberger believes was originally Park’s notion and understanding on this concept, a state which he describes as being “homeless” in a cultural sense (1992:440). Being poised simply tends to “resolve” marginal status with negation, by refusing to solve the *status quo*. Suggested modes of response are only treated as constructed values, theoretically “pure” responses, and Weissberger adds that they are empirically mixed, intersected or combined, which can be presented with an axis disposition of responses (1992:429). Naturally, those bisections and variables can make significantly more complex research of cases in modern societies.

Figure 3.

Weissberger’s Axis of Response



These intersections are typical of urban areas since social life in cities, as Weisberger puts “proliferates sensory stimulation [...] with growing anonymity of the individual” (1992:427), meaning that, “revived attention to marginality would arrive in a timely fashion, since in postmodern, post-industrial order, marginality is increasing in frequency and is rapidly becoming the rule, not the exception” (1992:445).

Unexpectedly, the research of Del Pilar and Udasco (2004) returned marginality to the frames of structuralism and once again revised the theory and its objectives. Although their argumentation was designed to prove a lack of construct validity and empirical support, in a very concise way they also offered some improvements. The idea was to divide and re-establish marginality into five different models of investigation. (i) The conflict model tends to describe the main psychological features of the marginal man and his conflicts, fears, behaviours and other disadvantaging properties. (ii) The organisational model stressed the problems of *mediatory* roles and marginal man who is positioned between “opposing forces” (2004:7). (iii) The adaptive model opened the sphere of adaptation and “reconciliation” between conflicted cultures, suggesting that adaptation which creates a symbiotic relationship has positive effects both on marginal, and on centrally positioned individuals or groups. (iv) The hierarchical model followed Hughes’ idea of the so-called *status dilemma* that occurs when social change causes people to feel “confusion of social [or role] identity” (Hughes, 1949:63). Hence, the fourth model investigates roles, hierarchical position and the relations of the marginal to the centre. (v) The deculturation model linked concepts of marginality and acculturation, and denotes marginal status as alienation from native culture, and at the same time consequent alienation from the host one. The process closes with the possibility that marginality can be resolved, “if one is not a member of either culture one must be deculturated” (2004:10), which seems equivalent to assimilation. With specification of the five models, Del Pilar and Udasco concluded that investigations on marginality had failed to demonstrate either correlation or convergent support for marginality. They also pointed to the negative perception of the phenomena, that the “use of marginality has fostered about non-dominant groups in the name

of science” (2004:11). It is clear that the theory had become much more complex and cumbersome that it should be. It covers so many divergent areas of research, that it is natural, that it needs constant attention, profiling, and possibly revision. One can almost positively agree that “despite the wishes of the marginality researches, one concept cannot hope to cover all these variables” (11), as Del Pilar and Udasco suggested.

2.2 Towards a Holistic Definition of Marginality

Thinking about marginality reached to the point where the theory is set, further refined and supplemented and then challenged or refuted as unfounded and empirically unshod. Its investigators are trying to view problems and phenomena that occur somewhere in the intervals between society and the individual/individuals. The search for the right definition and characterisation of marginality certainly ran in parallel with the evolution and development of society and cultures. However, rare are the cases in which the phenomenon has received adequate treatment and clear explanation. Although the approach was essentially based on structuralism, the impact of philosophical and aesthetic thought certainly did not bypass this theory. The theory of marginality, in accordance with the subject of research, has been moving on the edges of different discourses and can therefore be termed an interdiscursive theoretical practice. One contemporary example of this practice is a study by Jung Young Lee entitled *Marginality – The Key to Multicultural Theology* (1995) which can be used to summarise all the models of marginality that have been discussed before.

In the first instance, one can assume that Lee used marginality as a linking concept in his own research on theological questions, but it is not. In the first part, he addressed marginality through his own cultural experience, interconnecting “classical” definitions and standpoints of marginality (sociological approach) with auto-poetical elements and philosophical ideas that are concentrated in one main idea – being marginal. He argued that this phenomenon has unfairly been treated as *a priori* negative, not only by society or individuals, but also in the scientific

literature which deals with the given problem. Significantly, the observation that marginality should never be understood in isolation but in the mutual influence and according to the centre has finally confirmed the allegations of some predecessors, allowing the question of marginality in fact to be perceived only if it is defined through the centre. What is marginal depends on the perspective we have. As Lee argued:

When we mention the margin, we acknowledge the centre and *vice versa*. In this interdependent relationship, it is impossible to say which comes before the other. However, when we “think” of ourselves at the centre, the margin becomes secondary. Likewise, we can see the margin as primary if we “think” of ourselves at the margin. Traditionally, we have learned to think from the perspective of centrality. We, therefore, think that the centre defines the margin (1995:30).

Further stressing the mutual influence of margins and centres he concludes that it is very difficult to draw a line between those two spheres – “Both are interdependent upon the perspectives of the subject and the object, and relative to the contexts in which we define our status” (1995:32). According to his observations one can conclude that our society made an artificial unbalanced relationship between margins and the centres. If we observe previous investigations on this matter we can conclude that in most cases marginality was perceived from the centralistic perspective, making dichotomised relations between i.e. white Caucasians and mixed or coloured races, never realising that one can be Caucasian white and still be marginalised because of economic status or subordination in some other sense. This is why most researchers failed fully to address the task they had set themselves. When it comes to marginality, the latent centralistic perspective was always present, and mostly played an important role in the system. From Lee’s writings, it is clear that researching marginality means researching process, identities, and contexts. Process is created through mechanisms of marginality including the centre, while identity in correspondence with the context reshapes those mechanisms. Misjudgements, unarticulated definitions and conclusions, and objective interpretations of marginality are divided into three main categories of definition, *classical*, *contemporary* and *holistic*.

2.2.1 Classical, Contemporary and Holistic Definitions

Most of the previously examined theoretical models have been designed in relation to the historical/cultural understanding and perception of the world through the prism of the Western culture hegemony, the so called ethnocentrism or “Caucasian supremacy” (Lee, 1995:48). For this reason, people who did not fit that ideal, suffered various forms of discrimination or disadvantages, producing the “inferiority complex” or “culture schizophrenia” (Stonequist), as it was formerly labelled within classical definitions of marginality. These perspectives have changed, and naturally, marginality as a concept and theory did the same. The determinants of marginality were race, gender, economic status, politics, education, occupation and age, and served as fixed values in classical comprehension of the marginal subjects. Today it can be perceived and understood as something rather different, a figure of postcolonial discourse, collateral of change, a pure difference or the Other. In most societies (Western ones) the former determinants no longer correspond to reality, or at least they are not characteristic in a political sense. This means that marginality always was and is a category established and regulated in accordance to social conventions. It is interdependent with relations to the centre, social responses to marginal man (social verification), psychological predispositions, and affiliations of the marginal subject.²⁴ Lee added that for similar reasons “marginality has no separate existence of its own [...] is best understood as a nexus where two or three worlds are interconnected”, while formerly negativistic notions of marginality in a classical sense were defined as a location somewhere “*in-between*” (1995:47).

Contemporary social developments have caused many changes, which reflected on the perception of marginality as such. In a modern sense, the society became *pluralistic*, and people in such a social atmosphere were focused on what is genuine or authentic, rather than on what is equal. On one hand, pluralism implies diversity, the right to diversity and acceptance of being different, and on the other, the option of the society to do the same, understands, accepts and allows this diversity. However, in practice many confluent cases can demonstrate the opposite.

²⁴ Lack of affiliation or institutional connections with the subject can also provoke marginal status.

Even though cultural pluralism enables the individual to maintain his cultural identity, those practices and values could be rejected or neglected by a wider cultural normative. From this one can conclude that there are two actual “cultures” that are referent for marginality – the wider culture (society and environment) and culture of the individual that may be existing inside or in-between. Each cultural space has its centres and margins. Consequently, pluralistic societies are sensitive to the marginalised, they recognise difference, and they often leave the possibility for the marginal to attach to the institution and to gain their affiliations, but in most cases such subjects still suffer from the “inferiority complex”, hence are still marginal. Individual experience and identity is what marginality in contemporary sense is interconnected with. If we compare the classical (negativistic) and contemporary definition of marginality we can see that there are differences in the treatment of identity. The classical definition and research done according to it recognise only one identity – white Caucasian, while the contemporary definition, following pluralism and ideals of the modern societies, recognise many. Maybe now the term “cultural schizophrenia” seems more appropriate when contemporarily defined marginality is discussed. Comparing the identities of those two models of marginality it is safe to conclude that in the classical sense there is only one identity – the dominant one and any identity which does not resemble it, is then perceived as marginal. In a pluralistic sense, centre(s) is/are defined by marginalised subjects, which comprise two or more identities, not one. In that case, one identity is living in contact with the cultural past and the other with the cultural present. The contemporary-pluralistic model is actually appropriated in the case of Wright & Wright’s process of transition from traditional to modern society, which was already mentioned before. In addition, a person who is a cultural amalgam, in the majority cases *is evaluated* through the centre, which conditionally means that this entity suffers from a *status quo*. Ethnically and/or culturally equal – psychologically remains unequal, hence, it still has open space for marginality. Since the contemporary definition is not *a priori* negative as classical is, it is nevertheless incomplete and insufficient to the sense of problem resolution.

The search for solutions is certainly in the interest of the main discourses that have been set. Both proposed models are not sufficient enough to guarantee such a situation, but each

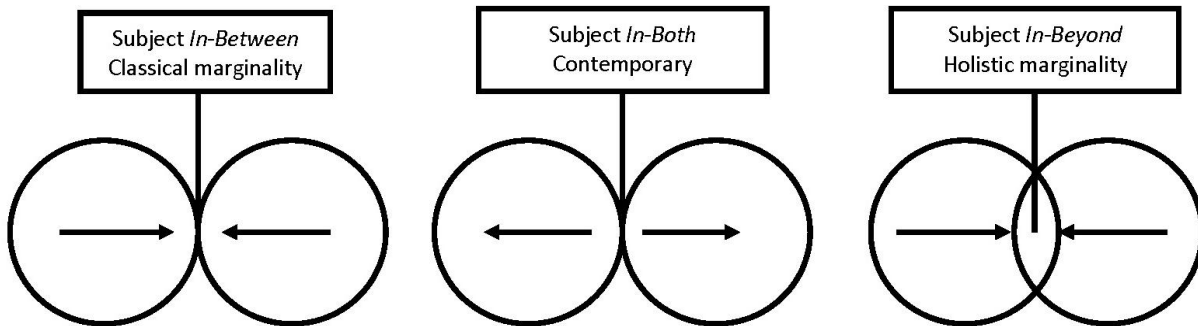
individually gives guidance to possible solutions. A holistic definition, by Lee's explanation, means actual reconciliation of traditional and contemporary models, and enables the merging of their qualitative characteristics that can result in a compromise, but effective solution. If the classical model raises negative aspects of marginality and sets a focal point on the *difference* between margin and centre, the solution cannot be compromised because the positions are not in equilibrium. On the other hand, the contemporary definition is based on the utopian arrangement of cultural or social relations and stresses only positive, but mainly unrealistic features. The holistic definition calls for marginality that is the conscious state of a person who lives on the edges of two or more cultures and takes advantage of both, having positive access to both centres at all times. In addition, as Lee describes it, he is "a new marginal person who overcomes marginality without ceasing to be a marginal person" (1995:62), or vividly shown "I am more than an Asian because I am an American, and I am more than an American because I am an Asian" (1995:58). Finally, Lee proposed one seemingly functional holistic definition of marginality:

...the norm of new marginality is the harmony of difference. Through harmony, not union, new marginal persons can transcend and live *in-beyond*. To transcend or to live *in-beyond* does not mean to be free of the two different worlds in which persons exist, but to live in both of them without being bound by either of them (1995:63).

In a holistic sense, marginality does not refer to the notion of being neglected or subordinated anymore. Between two centralities, marginality is actually a field of their mutual understanding, a creative core of identity. Those two poles do not conflict or overlap and coincide anymore, they interact. In this context a person has space to build one amalgamated identity, but not in a negative sense this time. It has all the advantages and disadvantages of both the cultural spheres and a much broader life experience. Accepting and bearing in mind holistically defined marginality, all previously mentioned concepts and explanations can be interpreted otherwise - very positively. Thus, marginality represents the *status quo*, but such status in fact ends once one accepts the ability of all the positive aspects of such a location in society.

Figure 4.

Lee's Models of Marginality



2.3 Enunciation Protocols: Analytical Delineation of the Concept

In this chapter I want to reduce the ramifications of the specific parameters, essential for this research, not because it will narrow the seemingly wide area of the marginality concept, but because it will offer a key for further reading and interpretation of the process that I wish to study. However, this does not mean that previously examined features of the marginal should be abandoned, whether they are negative in their classical defining protocols or positive/holistic. Rather I want to suggest that the entire condition of marginality should be treated under one large arch of possible interpretations. In general ways, this would provide a network where many interpretations indeed meet and complement.

The first relevant step is that in a particular way and with specific methodological sense, one could question what marginality is in fact, and how it refers to the development or change of certain traditional music practice. Although the concept of marginality was mainly used in sociology, post-colonial studies or research focused on specific ethnical, racial, sexual or ideological subjects, I intend to offer a different use of this rather significant term, concept and problem. The case of the disappearance of the *gajde* music practice from Serbian culture should situate *marginality as an intracultural phenomenon*, rather than offer more visible

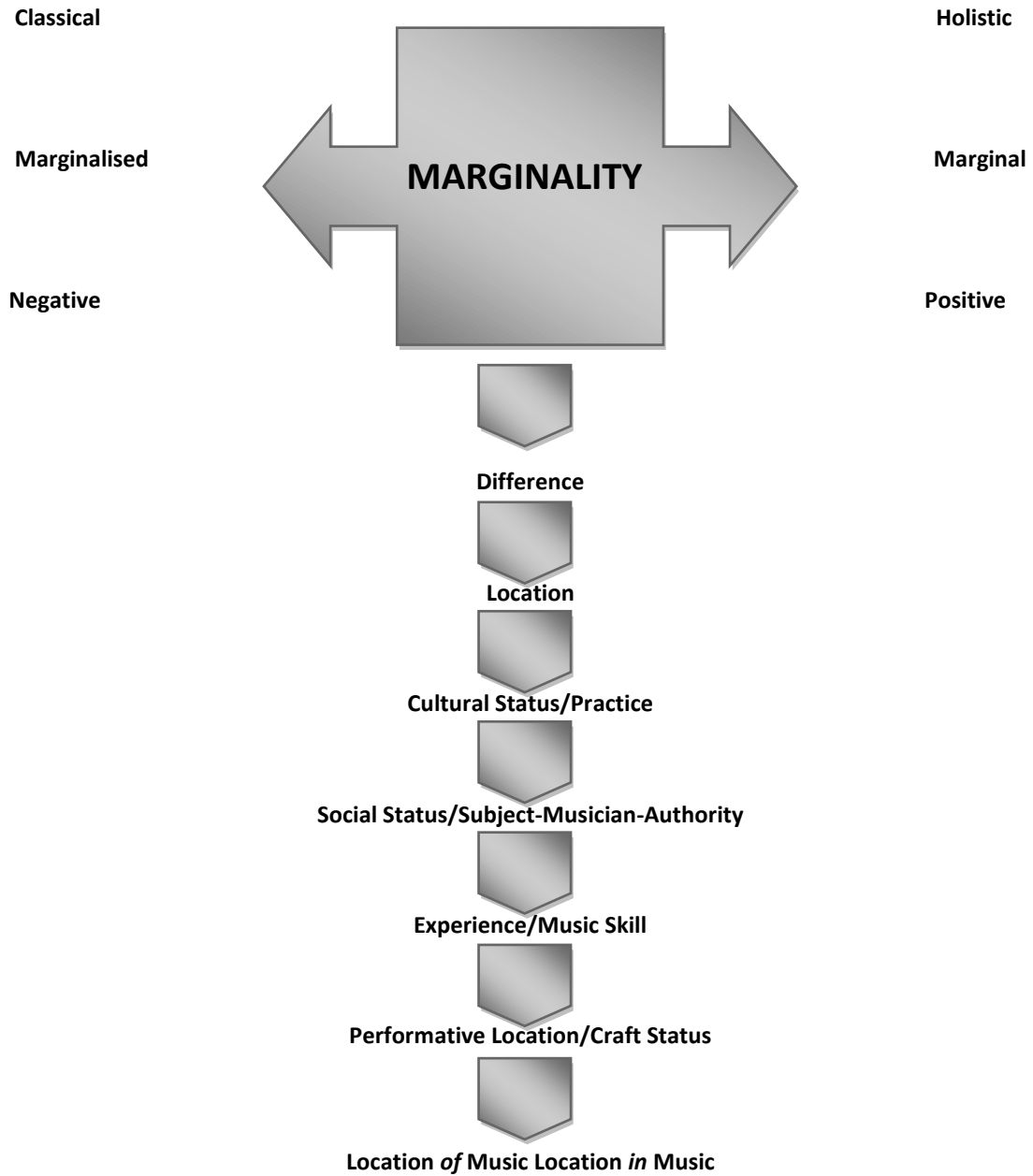
research of contacts and conflicts of different cultures or their subjects which is not the case in nature of this problem. Intracultural marginality in fact deals with shifting centres and margins *inside* one culture that, in this case is segregated into two different streams of social and cultural belonging – traditional and modern.²⁵ From previous chapters, one could synthesise and make general conclusions, which are relevant for further reading of this study. However, I see marginality as a cultural phenomenon that considers two paradigms to be followed in further research: (i) it is a concept which locates, defines and interprets ***difference*** and (ii) a concept that implies the interpretation of the ***location, the process of change*** with particular focus on social, ideological and contextual backgrounds of the culture, music and subject. The first paradigm should facilitate research, which is conducted by a quest for main characteristics of marginal identity as to track, locate and interpret all necessary biases, which arise from the relationships between margins and centres. This means that the quest to obtain answers to those questions is concerned with the traits of the statuses and differences of the music and subject, which could be ethnically, individually, traditionally or contextually different in relations to the conditions in which they are recognised. For example, the case of a rural instrument player in urban settings would be a good example that points to his individual, traditional and contextual difference in comparison to professional musicians that perform music for the National Philharmonia or National Folk Ensemble. However, the difference could be tracked in a more subtle way. It could be located in the ritual music process because the subject tends to occupy a “double space”, being in-between two realms of experience – one ritual, sacred and the other profane. Hence, the questions of difference as a part of broad identification should not be endorsed but rather negotiated and interrogated as a concept through various conditions and cases. It is proposed that those notions should follow interpretations of the authority and location of the subject(s), so as to define the context and politics under which such difference comes to be displayed. The second paradigm should focus on processes in which the subject tends to point to difference resulted from gradual loss of

²⁵ I use the term “intracultural” to differentiate it from “intercultural” which draws attention to an exchange between two different cultures. The term which locates the focus *inside one culture* was derived from a study on *Intercultural Communication*, according to notions of Samovar and Porter (2003).

traditional culture and reactions of the subjects to the new modern condition which produces an intracultural conflict or marginalisation. In order to understand all aspects of that process one must be familiar with all the influences that led to that point, and this means one must track the changes. When music stands in that focus a process of change actually tends to describe the conditions in which the subject tries to acquire his authentication in different settings, how his identity differentiates and in what terms. This should also offer some of the answers on how particular factors create and develop marginal-centre conflict, and how two cultural realms stand in opposition. In this process, special attention should be given to the modern condition because it represents a crucial point to the emergence of conflicts between the traditional and modern cultural realms, as will be explained. However, for this research a special distinction must be made in order to track down two different conditions of marginality, of constructive and positive impacts, which were defined as holistic, and of those negative impacts that produce conflicts. In order to facilitate the use of those two different understandings of the same concept, I suggest the distinction between ***marginal*** and ***marginalised*** and its further ramifications, which will be explained in the following chapters (see fig. 3). The first determinant points to positive aspects of the marginal position (especially significant for performative aspects of music), and the second describes negative influences on particular music practice in the process of its change. Furthermore, such a distinction should ease to follow the characteristics of *location* where the subject and/or his music act as marginal or marginalised in the sense of spatial or temporal statuses or to locate music in a given culture, as to explore matters of distancing or differentiating from the primary music identity (i.e. when vocal song performance becomes instrumental tune or marginalising some of the features of *gajde* music identities). In a more general way, the entire music process in conditions of traditional culture is in fact regarded as marginal because of the fact that the subject actually marginalises his creative impulses in order to create music. Therefore, a product of music is, under the same principles, regarded as marginal knowledge, where the initial mental impulse becomes materialised in music, which also falls under notions of “locating music”.

Figure 5.

Interpretation Protocols of the Marginal Conditions



Although a general definition could not be achieved at this point, marginality in this sense represents a productive capability of music or its subject to balance between two referential points, and therefore qualify as holistic. The second signification of the term, **marginalisation**, proposed by the distinction mentioned above, tends to deal with problems, which were addressed mainly in the previous chapter. Under marginalisation I tend to describe the process of change where the subject and his music or entire traditional culture became conflicted with modern culture through certain political factors, contextual changes, individualisation, institutionalisation of folk music, gradual loss of certain music skills and particular music crafts, and eventually erosion of traditional culture and subjects as such. Under these conditions, the core problem of marginalisation becomes a matter of exploring differences between culture that has finished its historical cycle, as traditional culture has, and modern culture that marginalised or radically changed the former. Given the fact that the modernity inherited a central position in culture, this meant that the traditional became peripheral and located *in-between*. It mainly profiled traditional music practice to become incapable of acquiring, developing and transmitting particular cultural identities, knowledge and experience, which were essentially important. Again, marginalisation of such music is conditioned here by issues of identity because it shows shifts from central location and importance to a marginal(ised) ones, which is one of the main tasks of this research. Further research will follow the exact route proposed at this point, and it will offer reinterpretation of this concept, respecting the distinctions which were placed. It will also track those changes and shifts in location by which music changed from being marginal and central in people's lives to being marginalised.

3 The Servant

3.1 Pray to Nature, Play for Sun: Music as a Product of Divine Communication

3.1.1 The Location of Nature and Culture

At this point, my aim is to locate the *gajde* within the larger network of the traditional belief system and ritual context in which music, and therefore this instrument, have significant roles and occupy a central position within culture. The distinction of the player or the instrument within the ritual context was, however, not transparent mainly because the ritual itself was far too complex representation of belief and culture. For this reason the focus and attention to the ritual, belief and the instrument is equal. The importance of the specific ritual context also positions the instrument and the figure of the player through a developed network of concepts which, overall, aims to show the significance of music in the traditional context, from the perspectives of a culture that was maintained before modern times or before the rise of modernity. In order to access the aspects of belief and ritual practice, I wish to argue some concepts that define them in many directions.

Sometimes Nature²⁶ is understood as the universe. Probably more likely it is imagined as all that is non-human or non-cultural. However, it can also be discussed and treated *as culture* or culture which is mediated by nature and *vice versa*. What in fact is obvious is that the signification and treatment of nature oddly depends of culture and particular context. Scientifically, Nature is more or less an arbitrary concept. Paddison points out that it is a

²⁶ In this chapter, I will make a differentiation between two kinds of nature: the concept of Nature, as a part of religion, system of belief or aesthetical category and philosophical notion, and nature (without capitalisation) as commonly used to refer to the agricultural, environmental, and climatic domain.

historically mediated concept, where “each historical period sees the nature it needs or wants”, so that the understanding of the Nature “acts as a mirror to the gaze of history” (2004:122). That is to say, the attitude towards it changes drastically in relations to progress or the development of society as such. Primordial societies, old traditional and undeveloped communities positioned nature in the very centre of their belief, social organisation and activities. It was the same for traditional Serbia. In folk belief, nature was immanent and vital to life. In the past, everything that man evidently created was somehow shaped with respect to nature. Houses were mainly built of stones or wood that were found in the nearest forest, rainwater and clean wellsprings supplied enough water for crops, animals and people, while tools and musical instruments were made of carefully selected pieces of wood. It also provided plants that people used as food or medicines. Nature was kept as a blessing, but simultaneously it was regarded as unpredictable, inconceivable and mysterious, creating fear of *force majeure*. However, man and nature were not antagonistic sides in terms of the later Nature-culture dualism. On the contrary, Nature was an inspiration and life essence for man, and he tried to create reality so that it resembled Nature, or was, at least, brought closer so as to be able to understand and communicate with it. For this reason, many religious acts and efforts were made to address, and tame the spirits of Nature because indeed it was believed to be the nucleus of traditional life. People used special words like mantra and music as a specific type of communication with the Divine, believing that the sung word or “musicalised” (my trans.) speech is closer to God (Golemović, 2000; 2006:164). However, to some extent people dealt with it with special cautions and fears as well. For people in this communication process there was not much that remained arbitrary. Nature also has cycles that were highly appreciated at that time. In Serbian traditional society and belief, the calendar consisted of two cycles that commenced with winter when everything was silent, a time when people mainly stayed at home.²⁷ For that reason, they named this period *mrtvilo*, generated from the word *mrtvo* (dead). The other cycle was summer when nature flourished, a period of time that awakened

²⁷ The summer period, however was determined by significant agricultural activity, while the rituals, mostly maintained by women, were performed also in appreciation of Nature and the desire for fertile year.

communal life too. The fact is that individual or social activities were conditioned by natural periods or cycles that reflected on social life in general. Nature therefore influenced the social norms and behavioural patterns of people that created the distinction and evaluation of something as good – natural, or bad – unnatural. It also stimulated specific organisation and discipline within the community, which closely monitored any changes of nature and therefore acted accordingly. Because of that, the relationship of people towards Nature was mimetic. This also means that their specific behaviour and “output” or response would try to represent Nature in some way. Therefore, music either “imitates” or “embodies” Nature, “while at same time there is a point where the two categories merge” (Paddison, 2004:111).

Social life was intrinsically subordinated to nature, designated to imitate or reproduce it in all actions, and made people constantly think and act according to it. Mind and soul were inextricably correlated with the essence of Nature, which complements Collingwood’s predication considering that “nature is saturated and permeated by mind” (1945:3). In addition, Paddison mentioned Collingwood’s notions of Nature as, “the fusion of the physical world and a mind which is immanent to it” (2004:109). As well, those specific connections were visible in specific animistic beliefs so that the cults of water, sun, fire, stones, forests or animals in Serbian culture were widely distributed as elements of a larger religious system. With complete certainty, one can claim that traditional, vernacular lore was/is mimetic in relations to Nature. Therefore, it leads one to the conclusion that we could also perceive Nature as the supreme authority and a centre of traditional culture (cf. Lähde, 2008:15).

In many perspectives, winter could be comprehended as a sort of transitional or liminal phase. In the broad cycle of Nature, it was located as marginal because it was situated between two agricultural years. Rituals that were performed during the winter period underlined the emergence and importance of the Sun as the source of life. Thus, the year began with the winter solstice ritual named *koleda*²⁸, a syncretical form based on several intersected cults: (i)

²⁸ Rituals with the same or similar names have been widely performed amongst Slavic peoples in Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Czech R., Romania, Ossetia, Abkhazia, Georgia, and probably in other countries with similar cultural background as well. Scholars have argued about the origins of this ritual. Many claim that it was developed by the Paleobalkan tribes, mostly because of the prominence of symbols relating to

Cult of the Sun (ii) Cult of Ancestors (iii) Cult of Soil, and (iv) Agricultural Cult (Zečević, 1973). Once the *koleda* was vital to the traditional community, believing that it would restore and enforce the power of the Sun after a long and dead winter period. It is interesting to observe that this religious act was entirely reserved for male participants, while women had “control” over other rituals such as *lazarice* or *kraljice* which were mainly performed for fertility.²⁹ Men or in some cases young boys were “ritually clean”, meaning that they had not had any sexual intercourse for five days, and that there was not a recent death in the family (Vasić, 2004:100; Nedeljković, 1990:115). *Koleda* were celebrated ahead of the 6th of January or some few days before, mostly in eastern and southern parts of Serbia, while it may be possible that in the distant past this ritual was much more widely spread. It shows how the people were naturally related and dedicated to celebrating this specific holiday. However, it is not surprising that the Church recognised the great impact and importance of such a celebration and put a lot of effort into suppressing the *koleda* and similar pagan rituals, i.e. marginalising them. Vasiljević notes that during Ottoman rule, the Orthodox Church violently prohibited the *koleda* (1960:9). In 18th century Banat (Vojvodina) the Serbian bishop in Timisoara (today in Romania) also forbade *koleda*, while people protested saying that he is, “worse than a Turk, he won’t let us play *koleda*” (Nedeljković, 1990:115). Since paganism was rooted in traditional life, the Church came up with a much more subtle and effective way of converting people to Christianity. This was achieved by emphasising the important Christian holidays instead of pagan ones, with the intriguing fact that they occurred on the exact date and in some aspects even had similar elements.³⁰ For example, *koleda*, a ritual for the birth of the new Sun had its equivalent, *Božić* (Christmas) which celebrated the birth of Jesus. The dates also coincided as some pagan elements were transposed, now forming their presence in Christian celebration. This process of

agriculture and animal husbandry, while some related it with Greco-Roman *calendae*, or Slavic origin. Cf. Vasiljević, 1960:8-9; Zečević, 1973:17-61; Antonijević, 1982:64-65; Nedeljković, 1990:115; S. Petrović, 1997:160-162; Kulišić-Petrović-Pantelić, 1998: 247; Zakić, 2009:118.

²⁹ Although women subsequently began to sing *koleda* songs, the songs were initially performed by men only and it was considered taboo for women to perform them under any circumstances.

³⁰ For example, Serbian *krostonoš* [lib. crosscarriers] songs came as a result of transformation of *dodole* [rain-charms] ritual songs. Serbian ethnomusicologist Dimitrije Golemović points that this kind of appropriation happened with “simple replacement of the text in refrain...oj, *dodole* has been replaced with *Gospodi pomiluj* [Cath. *Kyrie eleison*], while basic text remained more or less unchanged” (fn. 27, 2000:26).

adaption reminds one of the process of *incorporation* that Fiske describes as “adopting the signs of resistance that incorporates them into the dominant system and thus attempts to rob them of any oppositional meaning” (1991:18). While this amalgamation gave specific charm, but regarding aspects of identity, it put such form in a position of being in-between. Mostly *koleda* songs were vocally performed but, in some parts of Serbia, they had instrumental accompaniment – *gajde*. The ethnographic case discussed in the next chapter will outline the important aspects of this ritual in the Leskovac area, in a form known in communal life prior to the Second World War.

3.1.2 Ritual Imagery as Nature

It is the 6th of January, early in the morning. As a weak Sun breaks over the horizon of the Morava river, near Leskovac, in the South of Serbia, a dozen young men called *koledari* are prepared to enter the village. Two of them are dressed rather strangely, wearing rags, torn clothes and sheep leather jerkins, turned inside out so that the wool is visible. Lots of cattle bells and rattles are attached to their belts and legs. Terrifying, animalistic masks cover their faces with large goat horns, so that nobody could see who is actually behind them. Armed with sabres and maces they seem otherworldly, sounding awkward and noisy as well, producing howling, hooting sounds. People call them *oale* or *lesnik*'s. They represent the spirits of the forest. Beside them there is one man dressed like an old man, *dedica* or *starac*, with moustaches and beard, carrying a walking stick, and *snaška* or *mlada*, the pregnant bridesmaid with kerchief on her head, holding a distaff who actually is a man only dressed as a woman. There are some singers too, a horse groom, and strangely for the occasion there is one *gajdardžija* – a man who plays music on *gajde*, all dressed ordinarily, as they would do on any other day. Making terrible noise, they announce their presence to the village as they approach. Eventually they stop in front of one house, and *oale* enter the yard first, starting an activity which looks like a battle with invisible forces, jumping, turning, and waving their sabres. At the

same time, bells and howling sounds make a huge noise that spreads all around. There is a belief that noise will repel evil forces and that it will make the space purified and “clean”. Then *oale* enter the house, repeating the same battle, giving signals to others that the space is cleaned so that the rest of *koledari* can come in too. Inside, *dedica* stirs the fire because people believed that it would imitatively reinforce the Sun. The “maiden” – *mlada* greets the householders by kissing their hands, while the *gajdardžija* improvises on his instrument, just enough to “fill” the space with sound, or simply to make noise. Then the improvisation transitions in a skilful manner, giving only a sound mark of several initial motifs, which signalise to the *koledari* that they should began to sing the song *Stojadine, domaćine*, wishing a fertile *novo leto* (new summer) to the householders (ex. 1, fig. 6). Again, subtly and naturally the *gajdardžija* links the melody of a round dance that on this occasion *koledari* named *kratko oro* or short dance. Circling the table positioned in the middle of room, with a round ritual loaf on top, *koledari* imitate the movement of the Sun. In the house everyone teases the *mlada*, touching her in an indecent manner and even simulating sexual act. After the ritual has been performed, the householders give some bread, meat, a rope of dried peppers and the *koledari* depart, with even more noise.³¹ The ritual was successful, so they believe.

Plate 3.

***Koleda* in Leskovac area, The Collection of Old Negatives and Photographs (Petar Ž. Petrović), no. 00039.**



³¹ Paragraph contains information provided from interlocutors and following resources: Nedeljković, 1990: 115; Vasić, 2004: 100-102; Zečević, 1973:17-61; Kulišić-Petrović-Pantelić, 1998: 247

Plate 4.

***Oale* with *snaška*, village of Bošnjaci (Leskovac), in: Vasiljević: 1960.**



Plate 5.

***Koleda* near the end of the battle, Leskovac area, in: Vasiljević: 1960.**



Figure 6.

*Koleda song*³²

♩ = 200

Brza (Leskovac)

♩ = 200

Brza (Leskovac)

sempre simile

³² The transcription is taken from the monograph study on traditional music in the village of Brza, where the ritual has been recorded on several occasions (Marjanović, 1989). Although the recordings mainly coincide, the video example is however made by Dr Dragoslav Dević, for the purpose of the television programme RTS in the 1970 (see notes on DVD examples). The lines 3-6 of the transcription refers to the section of the ex. 1 (00:38-00:55) with the permutation of the textual parts (in the transcription *Oj, ubava...* omitted in the video, so the text begins with *Stojadine, domačine...*).

8 Oj u - ba - vaj, ma - laj mo - ma, oj u - ba - vaj, ma - laj mo - ma,

tr *tr* *tr*

8 Oj u - ba - vaj, ma - laj mo - ma, oj u - ba - vaj, ma - laj mo - ma,

tr *tr* *tr*

8 Sto - ja - di - ne, do - ma cí - ne, Sto - ja - di - ne do - ma - cí - ne,

tr *tr* *tr*

8 Sto - ja - di - ne, do - ma cí - ne...

tr

etc.

3.1.3 Ritual Reality as a Temporal and Spatial Continuum

Following details given above, it appears that the *koleda* ritual is highly suitable for explaining certain properties of the traditional culture, social norms and beliefs and ritual or music properties as well. Ritual creates a differentiated reality; it also creates identities and statuses. Assuming that a ritual reality is a social construct, initially it is created by mind and further elaborated by society. It is in many directions determined or even dominated by time and space, two consistent aspects of one reality (Jakovljević, 2006:494). Scott presumes that these two categories are inherent, arguing that a “space cannot be conceived as static, any more than time can be conceived as spaceless” (2006:184). At this point I would try to explain how time (and after the same mechanism space) has status-forming capabilities, or more precisely how it can contribute to underline the location of the marginal, and how the *gajde* or the player are located within this process.

Conceptions or notions on time and space are in many ways arbitrary. They can be seen as purely exact categories or they can be interpreted aesthetically. At this point, I would like to draw attention to the second scope. To begin with, “space and time are nothing but our intuitions of them...and that can only be subjective condition[s] of sensibility”, and as such “are nothing but our own representations” (Guyer, 2006:63). In a Kantian sense, all knowledge is generated of concepts or “intellectual organisation” and intuitions or “sensory input”, and those are two different types of *Vorstellung* or representations (2006:53-54). Further, time and space are conceived as “pure forms of all our sensible representation of objects, and as such are sources of synthetic *a priori* cognition” (2006:53). One could ask, if time and space *are* representations, does it mean that they are formed *as* sensory and empirical experience? If so, recalling Collingwood’s argument that Nature is “permeated by mind”, then time and space could be justified and discussed *as natural*. However, those two concepts could be re-examined in a different manner. Observed in this way, time and space can be divided into three modes of temporality or spatiality: the past, the present, and the future. What I particularly want to emphasise is the importance of, what Benjamin defines, the “time of the now” (1955:253). As *in*

media res, “now” is positioned in a privileged status because it is an area where two margins of the past and the future overlap. Accordingly, to some extent time and space could be conceived and understood as the privileged holistic sense of the *marginal*. The third type of distinction positions time and space in the middle, but not as a result of the juxtaposition of two conditions of tenses (past and future), but rather as a whole new category created as an “act of translation” or process where this *enunciation* occurs. In Bhabha’s study *The Location of Culture* (1994) *enunciation* is defined as a “temporal hybrid”, a “Third Space” where all necessary elements come into the desired contact regardless of time origin, past or future, therefore creating a transhistorical point (Ibid.). It is what scholars use when they systematically process different temporal or spatial immersion, and because of this process they mechanically dislocate time and space. Therefore, this procedure could be regarded as *discursive*. Giving those characteristics, the present is immanent to ritual practice observation. In the locus of this particular investigation, time and space are at the same time narratives of the *natural* (sensory), *marginal* (placed in-between) or, manifested in this particular writing, *discursive*. The first emphasise origins as such, the second location, and last focus on function.

Considering our example, the *koleda* ritual, one can easily conclude that it belongs to the past and that necessarily it becomes a part of a specific performative present. Being traditional means that the ritual is performed in respect of the past (repetitively representing elements fixated at that instance). Rationally, it is also designed to provoke “results” in the future³³. Being marginal or *in-between* it actually upgrades its status and becomes *in-beyond* by its natural circumstances and effects. That is the main reason why this marginal position of time and space is privileged and performative in both directions. However, in the following analysis I will try to demonstrate the levels of temporal and spatial interpretation or strategies.

Ritual, sacred time and space must be differentiated from the ordinary or, as Mircea Eliade defined it, “profane” time so that the ritual will acquire meaning and/or significance (1972). As Durkheim claims, time is a collective phenomenon derived from social life and therefore has an

³³ According to Priest, the exact or similar views can be found in writings of Augustine, Leibniz, Hobbes, Bergson, McTaggart and, Merleau-Ponty (1998).

integrative and social synchronising function (Gluckmann, 2006:183). Intrinsically, his detailed notion of time and space stresses that “all religions divide the universe into realms of sacred and profane” (Jenks, 1993:27). In addition “sacred symbols are condensed, pure...whereas profane symbols are fragmented and diffuse, dangerous and defiling, and, above all, threatening to the sacred” (Ibid.). But, there are slight and delicate intercessions of that time which are articulated by authority or power, and measured with actual activity. In this particular sense, there are several levels of that *natural* time that should be followed: calendric, ritual or status, social or individual and musical time. Every participant sacrifices his own time, just as the community altogether creates a large ritual time framework, which again has its temporal superiors.

In the *koleda* every participant has the authority to make those intercessions, even the householders. When *oala* reaches the porch, and steps into the yard, it makes not just spatial changes but those to the status of time. With approval to enter house, they are granted an authority, and thus defined as instances that can change time status – from profane to sacred or ritual. There are again those delicate intercessions within *marginal* time such as musical time, or to be precise, time that is articulated with music, sounds or simple noise. While the *gajdardžija* plays his improvised tune in the house, he actually acts according to the time status. He plays it as *improvisation*, and the rest of the participants act arbitrarily or extemporarily to this sonic organisation. To his “selection” of marginal music the *oale* reacts with an improvised dance, hopping around and making free sounds which could be defined as “ritual noise” (Zaharieva, 1987). There can be imperceptible verbal communication in the progress as well. His improvisation becomes a marker and inosculates to the current status. Those cracks in time make a distinction in the acts of the participants, sequencing and dividing improvised from articulated time. Then, selecting the right moment, the player realises that it is *time* for the *koleda* song *Stojadine*, *domaćine*, an the ultimate or Divine message, a prayer to the gods. However, before this, he makes an introduction with several motifs of the song, thus preparing the participants for singing. Ritual is, again, intersected and those motifs transfigure or transit from free improvisation into articulated song. Time transfiguration can be noticed in metric

distribution as well – from improvisational *rubato* to distributive *giusto*. Song performance comprises of different types of communicational and expressive “tools” like voice or melody, text, instrumental accompaniment, dance movements and gestures. Such a syncretic form requires temporal and spatial articulation and therefore it is not improvised. This might be the case of gesture of synchronicity in human interaction that some scholars conceptualise as the property of entrainment – “interaction and consequent synchronisation of two or more independent [...] processes” (Clayton, 2008:141). Instrument accompaniment is structured as pure imitation of vocal expression and conceivably mimetic in relation to Nature and to song. The fact that the song exists in pure vocal form, besides this particular case, tells us that the presence of the instrument is arbitrary and can become obsolete. However, some elements cannot be changed. Performers can change any element of their performance, but they do not change the song in general, typical words and melody or vocal expression because it is essential for songs and ritual identity, and because any changes may cause desacralisation, and thus a religiously ineffective form of communication. What is immanent to this song performance (and many other Serbian ritual songs at this stage of development) lies in the intriguing vernacular belief that it must be *durable* and *loud* in order to be effective in a specific communicational process. Noise must be durable, it must last in time. It is undesirable to break the sound. Silence is taboo. This is why people valued a specific macrostructural performative style – canonical antiphony that ensured everlasting sound or “enchanted circular motion” (Radinović, 1997). Realising that time progression is strict, and only in that form acceptable to be emitted as a ritual message, the process shifts significance and authority to a higher instance – to the gods. However, the song is the strictest and the most unchanging part of the ritual in the performative and religious sense. Hence, it allows us to conclude that it can be seen *as a centre* of this act of ritual performance. Accordingly, all peripheral “noise”, improvisation, ritual noise and dance in comparison to the song, act arbitrarily and *marginally*. At this point two general conclusions can be drawn: immanent to the song is (i) the spatial and temporal conformation or arbitrariness on all levels such as tradition, ritual or music duration or spatiality, which depends on the function; and (ii) the ritual has two causal prerogatives, one temporal and one spatial – duration and noise.

3.1.4 Mediation as Divine Marginality – A Cartesian Perspective

It has already been mentioned that the *koleda*³⁴ strives to achieve communication with Nature itself or the supernatural – the gods of Nature. In the communicational act, they are positioned in the middle of the process and as such they act as mediators. On one side some could observe this position and understand it as central to communicative process and be aware of the evident activity within. On the other hand some can focus on a position located on the peripheries of the two realms, profane and sacred. In that sense, ritual position is partially dislocated from its profane, material social context, and it is at the same time located at a distance from the ultimate, hypercultural, centric transcendence, or central to the process itself. It is a position that practice shifts of authority or power possession, but can, in Marxist terms be a position of reconciliation of opposing sides, natural and supernatural. Such reconciliation is meditated and mediation requires the interference *in media res*, between two fundamentally disparate sides, and therefore it is also dialectical. This is similar to the location that Victor Turner sees as liminal, being ambiguous and as a subject located in the process of “social and cultural transitions” (1969:95), which in this sense can further be understood and justified as the property of being marginal. Now, just as mediation is immanent to structure and constitutional in every ritual communication or the communicational act itself, such a constructive location in the process of a particular transcendental context can be seen and treated as the act of *Divine marginality*. In this point there are some relevant and necessary aspects that require further attention. Firstly, this specific mediation implies transgression of social norms and temporal or spatial shifts that are crucial for the ritual process. Secondly, it requires specific authoritative or socially marked individuals and their communicational activities and mediating (expressive) tools such as voice, instruments or even the body itself. Finally, distinctive identities within the process are of central importance and are created by individual and collective investment in the idea, which forms the ritual. In that process status

³⁴ In the Serbian language the plural of *koleda* is *koledari* (used as pluralia tantum). Although the latter is often used in Serbian-language literature, I am using the singular form here to avoid confusing declensions.

changes are of vital importance, and communication *per se* is a central mediating tool (McLuhan, 1964), while the entire ritual and any expressive activity within could also be argued as mediation (Hennion, 2003:84). Action in the temporal and spatial dimension, as described above, are those aspects that execute the status, make the locus, create identity, and transgress the lines of a profane and sacred as a natural result of mediation. In terms of identity, music (song) and dance occupies a central position, as the resonance or noise it is capable of mediating, as it communicates. Sound must be formed, structured, organised and distributed in order to send the message and aspire to positive income or, from another perspective, subversively be perceived as a material mediator (from improvisation to song). These are fundamental reasons why music as a product of mediation carries the potential to draw significance from two sides and become *in-beyond* or holistically marginal. As communication is a product of this particular mediating act between transcendental (gods) and material (community), it can be argued as a highest positioned level of mediation, the act that sets *representation* in context and in action so that it will acquire meaning/significance. The subsequent level of mediation reveals the relations between *koleda* performers and the community itself. In this sense, the singular participation of the player acts as a point of reconciliation and mediation between natural and supernatural realms in more delicate proximity. The identity of the player (*gajdardžija*) in this ritual is marginal because his presence is exceptional compared to the wider circle of *koleda* songs that are vocally performed or even wider – general expression of Serbian ritual music practice. The marginal position is evident in the fact that during the performance the player's body remains either behind or to the side of the others, ones that are spatially dominant (see ex. 1). Then his body acts according to the mediating status that he takes, but this does not mean that he is just a mere figure. His physical appearance and presence contains a number of layers, and demonstrate stratifications of the identity that the body implies in a specific time and space organisation.³⁵ It balances between

³⁵ Discussing how ritual relates to myth, Parkin states that "it is often part of the alleged special character of ritual that it does presuppose an action or series of actions which do not need speech. Thus, while myth is rendered as privileging words, ritual is held to privilege physical action; but it is an action that can only be understood as bodily movements towards or positioning with respect to other bodily movements and positions. If such movements are

two realms, physical or material and transcendental present, traditional past and expected future. It is a body of Nature, of culture, of a vernacular tradition or transhistorical time that can be recognised or established in his appearance. He is also a *koleda* performer, epitome of the local and particular religious and social existence. Furthermore, a body that could be seen as a particular communicative entity – a music performer, a body that extends the body – his instrument. Finally, it may be perceived as a figure within community, a member of the society or ultimately as a pure individual. It is a mediating figure that at the same time shares mutualities and resembles distinctively other *koleda* performers. His appearance testifies to the arbitrariness in the evident detail that he is not masked, while other participants are. He is dressed normally and further predetermined to communicate more or less differently than the other participants. Therefore, the *gajdardžija* on one side reconciles the identity of the associated participation in the (supernatural) *koleda* ritual procession, and on the other, he is a pure (natural) member of his society. His dress code, and ritual paraphernalia – *gajde* (the instrument) are his visual differentialities and markers of it as well.³⁶ He reveals his attachments to the society and his attributes demonstrate the presence of the human principle significantly more than of the others, who obscure their identities behind masks in order to ensure the positive effects of the ritual.³⁷ The player does not wear a mask because his mask is an instrument. The means of communication, ritual affiliation and activity reveal his exclusiveness in relations to other performers, society or community and authoritative codes of tradition (his exclusive participation). Additionally, with specific time and meaning management and reconciliation of the two disparate identities he supplements sacred time creation and new entity construction. Such differentiation, altogether appearance and function in condensed form demonstrate his hybridal identity, his marginality and his mediating capabilities. Additionally, his musical instrument is not just the mere mean of expression, a communication

a principal feature of ritual, then it must be through them rather than through verbal assertions that people make their main statements” (1992:12).

³⁶ Svetlana Zaharieva states that “player is a ritual figure with *special function* which differentiates him from other ritual figures, shades significance...” (1987:81)

³⁷ Identity “masking”, as a performative phenomenon, is also present in the Serbian ritual musical practice in the form of specific textual “blurring” that Dimitrije Golemović define as provision of more mystical and strange musical expression, and therefore more effective result in ritual communication (cf. Golemović, 1997:9).

tool that produces music as (re)presentation, but it is also an object that mediates his own identity. With his sounds the player participates in the (re)presentation, he adds to the noise, articulates its time, creates or supports the status or meanings and integrates his marginal identity into a higher form of it - the ritual. Meaning that he is capable of employing elements and different levels of mediation, (re)presentation and integration, therefore he could be qualified as an important factor or identity-constructive agency.

3.2 Modes of Identity Appropriation: Tune, Song and Noise as Sound Objects

Music played on the *gajde* is not merely music or music without meaning, if any music could be regarded as such. In the previous example, I tried to demonstrate how music can transfer meanings and incarnate reality and traditional belief in one particular ritual process. As was concluded, in that process the *gajde* are marginal in a positive sense. They are simultaneously marginal in position, communication, embodiment of Nature and culture, and central for the entire ritual mechanism. However, what constructs musical meaning in that particular case? Is it only a song or is it a song with accompaniment? Is it really accompaniment or something more? One could be aware that there are at the same time qualitative and quantitative differences between those two constituents of the sound or meaning. Also, from previous discussion it is evident that the song is the “message”. Does it signify even without words? Under this initial problem, the question of how people define music arises. Many scholars have pointed out that the disproportion between our “modern” understanding of music, the concept of it and how traditional musician regarded this is not a unique problem. It means that the concept of “music” mostly is not equivalent to what the “westerners” call and define it (Zemp, 1978:37). For people inhabiting the Balkan areas, the concept of music does not necessarily have the same meaning as for many other cultures at large. For example, Dimitrije Golemović states that singing (lullabies, mourning and many other ritual songs – R.J.) is not understood in any form by people *as singing* or *as music* (Golemović, 1997:107). In addition, Radmila Petrović

(1989:13-14) gave empirical evidence of further vernacular narrowing of this taxonomy: (i) music is not (ritual) song performance, which means that instrumental performance is music (ii) Even tunes on the *gajde* or *tambura* are not considered to constitute “music”. Evidently, “music” as a concept is highly vague in traditional cognitive system. Rice puts another assumption, that ritual music as such is not understood as music but as a song.³⁸ In such a way, their cognitive system locates “music” as “higher” forms of (music) expression (i.e. performed on the accordion), and not a utilitarian tool of what for them it really stands for or represents. This also testifies to the intersected and unbreakable conceptions of vocal and instrumental medium and musical expression in the firm context that defines it, unlike the music that may “sound” their environment. However, the facts make us wonder whether the distinction is present at all. Are instruments powerful enough to transfer meanings with the same ease as the words of a song, or they are unequal – and to what extent does the message “success” and its meanings depend on from the medium? In the next step, using some well-known and much more marginal cases from Serbian traditional music, I want to get closer to the means of significance, in order to focus on the identities and values of a vocal song and instrumental tune *as an expression* created in their coexistence and interactions. To be precise, this chapter examines the relationships between instrumental and vocal musical expression with special focus on *gajde* musical (re)interpretation.

³⁸ When describing rituals or customs no longer performed or that occurred at a different time of year, people would frequently say, “there is no music (muzika) for this ritual, only songs (pesni).” (Rice, 1980:44-45)

Plate 6.

The *gajde* player, village of Pirkovac (Svrljig), The Collection of Old Negatives and Photographs (Petar Ž. Petrović), no. 24758.



3.2.1 Migrating into Tune (*Have you seen my song?*)

Gajde in Serbia are generally perceived and used as a solo instrument. They are predominantly used as an accompaniment to dances, but their repertoire consists of several other music categories such as meditative *svirka* (a term for an instrumental tune³⁹), song pieces and tunes for special occasions such as the *koleda* song, wedding or harvest music. People will not very often make a division and categorise this so strictly. Every melody has its own purpose, structure and identity, which is immanent and familiar to people, so they do not tend to invest the effort in order to separate, as for them they are all parts and bits of the consistent world or particular music knowledge. Although on some occasions ethnomusicological research tends to execute divisions and categorise objects of music in order to make them more accessible and understandable, a lot of “diverse” musical acts could be found in practice. Therefore, some wedding songs or tunes (like i.e. *putnička svirka*) could be also performed during harvests, which again keeps and translates the broad meaning, evident in the fact that both occasions celebrate the birth of new forms of life – transition from girl to women or the birth of new crops and wheat. It shows that specific songs could be performed on some other occasions, which were not evidently “appropriate”, but supports the idea of the initial context or in some cases even not. Appropriation is deeply rooted in culture and is one of the primary causes of change in the domains of tradition and especially music. Context, songs, tunes - everything can be appropriated or adjusted as long as it is meaningful to the people concerned.

Many studies make the distinction between vocal and instrumental musical practice as two ubiquitous and general ways of music expression. Therefore, one of the most obvious and representative types of such a permeation is appropriation of narrative forms (language and music) and their transferral into pure instrumental pieces (“pure” musical language). Then again, such acts allow a reflection of present and past in one form, they convey meanings and refer to the initial narratives and musical form as primary identity, appropriating its literal or

³⁹ Although in English language the term “tune” is often referred as synonym for melody, in Serbian language the term relates to *svirka* which is regarded as the melody or the form in instrumental performance exclusively.

musical content to a different system, a specific language of music. Hence, three referential points are present in this particular act; one is the primary identity of the song and the second is its materialisation in the instrumental tune of the *gajde*. The third and most significant point in this process is/are meaning/s creation as a result of two previous joint referential points, the point of their sublimation. Meaning is established in the partial (physical) absence of the primary identity and materialised and mediated through the presence in a newly designed sonic object and its context. Such meaning is always constructed on the peripheries or margins of music itself, therefore provoking the audience to connect to the primary source (song) in order to decipher the actual meanings of the instrumental music they enjoy, now formed and presented in the absence of the former, “true” identity. As a result, this formation in fact identifies, describes and produces affectual meaning in reference to its verbal musical form (cf. Shepherd-Wicke, 1997:104). To some extent, it testifies that particular appropriation is time-sensitive since it requires appropriation of time, relations of memory from the former experience and productively a signification materialised on the boundaries of empirical and narrative past and the actual or performative present. What is especially important to stress is that although a “new” identity is formed it actually *represents* the primary one and further *recreates* associative meanings, symbols and sound marks or *sound events*, as Shafer simply asserted (cited in: Clayton, 2008:138). “New” identity is an epitome of an agency that exists *instead* of the absent initial or primary one. Appropriating significance and appearance conveyed by the former, the new identity acts as an advocacy or assumed representative that, in the end, executes integration of those two points of reference, creating a new consistent and singular identity. Because of its transferrable nature, such a process might be defined as *migrational* – migrating and integrating the primary derivate into a new present form of musical identity. In order to clarify the point made here, I will analyse some of the examples.

The Haiduk

The rule of the Ottomans and rise of the resistance, (*Haiduks* or similar groups) encouraged the people not only to defend but also to make and perform music, songs that would describe current events, ideas and feelings or to act subversively through music as one of the means of

such resistance. Traditional life of the South Serbia and (Yugoslav) Macedonia, although different in the geographical or even political sense, reveals much evidence, showing that this area was particularly homogenous as one cultural space. Ottoman supremacy and the negative impact on ordinary people from those areas initiated and caused the emergence of the resistance. People talked about them and made songs which celebrated their rise and achievements. On such occasions music was one of the means of transmitting information, a forerunner of today's mass media. In Macedonia secret rebel bands called *Komiti* operated widely over the Balkans, at the end of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish presence in those areas. Songs that picturesquely described their activities were disseminated, and after many years remained present, sung and loved among the people as a memory of a particular historical moment. What is more important is that these songs, by their literary content depict the Ottoman past as an era of stagnation and a time when Turkish music influenced or "touched local performance practice" (Buchanan, 2007:45). The music which retells a story from the Ottoman period also makes the imaginative representation of the Orient in relations to the more local Balkan geocultural image (cf. Said, 1977:49-73). *Komitska pesma* (*Komiti* song), recorded in the village of Prekadin (Prokuplje) tells a story of Stojan the Komit, and musically describes the vivid life of a rebel against the Turks from perspectives of the individual.⁴⁰ However, although a player on the *gajde* initially performed this song as an instrumental piece, *Komitsko kolo* (*Komiti* dance; ex. 2), he remembered that there was also a song, with not so developed but corresponding literal content (*Komiti* song; ex. 3). In his initial performance, he firstly recalled the tune of the song, which was acknowledged and categorised differently – naming it *kolo* (*dance*), and as such differing from the initial *song* performance. One might say that the player actually was aware of the difference between appropriated song in the new form of an instrumental piece – tune, and the initial source – song, but this also testifies to their interconnections. Therefore, he performed it again, but this time while playing on the *gajde*, he added the melody and lyrics of the original song. His practice shows that even though the song's identity was transferred or migrated, the narration could be evoked and

⁴⁰ According to archive recording material: Toša Stošić, Prekadin (Prokuplje), Institute of Musicology SASA, recorded by Ana Matović, 1967, tr235.

meaning referred to, which eventually could be recognised in the pure musical, non-literal form of the *gajde* tune.

The Imagined Song

However, a tune can be constructed with different logic or sources that moves, *migrates*. In the next example I wish to discuss how “pure” narrative form such as a local (fictional) tale can be appropriated as a tune, and how such a tune can represent an identity that does or does not exist.

In a village near Sokobanja in a *kafana* (local bar) a fight broke out and there was a story that the *gajdar* (name for *gajde* player in this area) managed to break up the fight with music and to get people together again. Afterwards, the melody *Ostavi mi bato stupac* was played as a dance tune, and even though some people remembered this story it remained in the dance repertoire as a typical instrumental tune (ex. 4). Although the story or details of it could not be deciphered from music easily, it is interesting that *gajdar* can retell a story with his instrument and the music that he plays while bringing to the fore the imaginative identity that migrated into his music. In addition, people are instinctively or empirically aware of the initial source and appropriation, whether it was originally a song or just a story that was orally transmitted before. One of my colleagues, Sanja Ranković who used to live in the area of Sokobanja told me also about the story adding that “it is not quite a song...it is more like a tune, a dance”.⁴¹ She actually opened my mind to realise that cognitively people may not know the initial identity or conditions of source migration, but it is the instinct or knowledge of traditional music or maybe specific appropriating mechanisms (treatment of melody, rhythm, tessitura) that could indicate the initial identity or life history of a certain piece of music. In that interpretation a story can equally migrate with mechanisms of song appropriation even if it was never actually sung, and just as easily a tune can “evolve” into a dance piece, and while people may not know the “original” they may be aware of the fact that it is appropriated.

⁴¹ I wish to thank Sanja Ranković for her help and details on this song and local interpretations on the narratives attached to the origins and performance.

The Bride's Song

People may also be aware of the emergence and importance of the music migration that the *gajde* can advocate, and because of such importance, it can be regarded as a special figure on some account. Now, I want to digress in order to introduce the next case. I have already mentioned that vernacular belief was/is a centre of a social life. One of the most important stages in the life cycle is the wedding, a dichotomy that embraces both private and public realms, paternal and maternal principles, but belief and entertainment as well. Even today, there is no wedding without music, just as there was no wedding without the *gajde* player and his music before. In many parts of Serbia *gajde* players were metaphorical figures of wedding ritual or the ceremony itself.⁴² Their special position in the society was in many ways powered and marked by the importance, which they obtained as a typical wedding instrument or an interpreter (Zakić, 1993:30; Matović, 1995:6). A wedding could have more than one player, depending on the economic status of the families and the existence of players in public life. More deeply, his appearance was also connected with the figure of the godfather (*kum*), as a metonymy of the paternal and ancestral, and, after the bride and groom, one of the most significant wedding guests (Litvinović, 2000:93). However, some statements suggest that the *kum* was not an absolute authority – for example, “A *kum* without a bagpiper is not a *kum* (Matović, 1995:6). The appearance of the player was in fact essential to the dramaturgy of the ritual, following every important point in the process – from gathering in the house of the young groom, on departure to brides house, her separation from her family, and of course many dances and tunes that entertained the guests and made the atmosphere joyfull and complete (cf. Petrović, 1978:31; Zakić, 1993:30; Lajić-Mihajlović, 2000:52; Vasić, 2004:43). In the wedding procession, two kinds of *gajde* music could be recognised: (i) specific *svirka* or travel tunes, which will be discussed later, and (ii) songs of special purpose, sung or played on this instrument, which is the focus of this chapter. Although many wedding ceremonies in

⁴² This instrument has been identified as a vitally important element at weddings over a wide geographical area. The Bulgarian ethnomusicologist Svetlana Zaharieva proposed that, in Bulgaria, “without gaida there is no wedding” (1989:203). In addition, in a marvelous and detailed study on Bulgarian music and gaida *May it fill your soul: Experiencing Bulgarian music*, Timothy Rice asserts that “ritual tunes for weddings formed the core of gaida repertoire” (1994:50).

Eastern parts of Serbia were unimaginable without *gajde*, I will address particularly the significance that this instrument had in the wedding customs of Banat, a part of Vojvodina province located in the North.

In Banat people celebrated weddings as a social event that lasted for several days. The wedding day was preceded by a number of activities such as *prosidba* (wedding proposal), engagement, stag and hen nights, and protocols of many pre-wedding acts and customs (Rakočević, 2002; Stanojlović, 1999). The difference between pre-wedding actions and ceremony shows that the music was treated in a twofold manner. Firstly, Stanojlović explains that *perjanica* (stag night) and *vrata* (hen night)⁴³ were occasions where future spouses gathered with friends to celebrate the last day of non-adult life (1999:10). It was a last chance to act unconventionally, or maybe indecently and immorally, and logically music was a major part of such an occasion. Although at the wedding day *gajde* and singing accompanied ceremonial points according to both belief and strict protocols, the domination of free expression was significant for this moment. *Gajde*, violins, *tambura* or later accordions, and many random *ad hoc* ensembles could resound the atmosphere and make music(s) or noise which was not the case at the key ceremony stage where the supremacy of articulated sound followed the structure of the ritual. The next day, on Sunday, the very day of the wedding, paternal relatives and guests gathered and escorted groom and godfather to the bride's house. On the way the *gajdaš* (name of *gajde* player in Vojvodina) played so-called *putnička svirka* (travel tunes), an improvisational piece of music. Rarely he could perform (imitate) the well-known wedding song *Gorom jezde kićeni svatovi* that announced the wedding celebration to the community, as a special sound signal for the bride that announces their arrival (cf. Rakočević, 2002:45). For the bride's family it was a moment of happiness, but at the same time a moment of sorrow because one of their members would leave the house and start a new life, where the intimacy that used to bond them could never be the same. For that reason, many songs that followed the moment of the bride's separation from her family are full of grief and sadness, even though they might be perceived differently outside the context that surrounds them. Those special songs which are rarely sung on other

⁴³ *Perjanica* (in English, plume, panache), *Vrata* (in English, the door).

occasions were called *svatovac* (type of wedding songs). *Svatovac* songs were regarded as distinctive marks of the wedding in Banat or Vojvodina, and a particularly important mark of *gajde* in this region as well (Milutinović, 1978; Lajić-Mihajlović, 2000:60).⁴⁴ The song usually expresses separation and the mother's lament for her daughter, evoked with a tender melody and moderate tempo which support the fact that music could induce certain physical states and *vice versa* (cf. Blacking, 1995:38). Migrating into a *gajde* tune, it preserved all of its features, adding only ornaments (entirely depending of the performer) and the specific timbre of the *gajde* as a clearly marked and legitimate sound of the wedding ritual itself (compare ex. 5 and 6). However, it is a song that performs manifold levels of identification, of family, of wedding, of *gajde* as a wedding instrument, community, but also as a sign of vague but existing cultural identity – Banat or Vojvodina. Usually the song was performed either solo (Petrović, 1978:31-32; Rakočević, 2002:46), or with instrumental accompaniment on the *gajde* (other singers or the *gajdaš* himself). However, many sources indicate that *svatovac* could be equally understood as a purely instrumental form (Milutinović, 1978), particularly because people in the past used to make songs and sing them more, while later they were a lot more comfortable just listening to them. After examining the collected materials, I realised that there was no *gajdaš* that did not play, or at least mention this particular form of wedding music. Many *svatovac* (songs) migrated and became *gajde* tunes, some with less resemblance to the ornamentation of the song, and some with more, but the basics of the melody remained. Although the song migrated, it was always referential and the identity of *svatovac* was always clear and transparent. It was a matter of pride and a commitment by the players to perform *svatovac* appropriately, and evoke the sentiments of the song that, although absent in words, were still recognised. Therefore, a particular representation could also be considered as a special skill that belongs to the player. If the emotions were attached and transfused respectively, it was evaluated positively and was the sign of quality of such appropriation, which was further perceived as a special musical skill of the player. Nevertheless, *gajdaš* knew exactly that it was a

⁴⁴ Because of its popularity, *svatovac* was appropriated by the Serbian composer Robert Tolinger and used as a key theme in his piece bearing the same name and later in his choral composition named *Gajdaška improvizacija* (en. *Bagpipe improvisation*) (Lajić-Mihajlović, 2000:28).

wedding, that this should be a cheerful occasion. To break the grief and to exhilarate others he closes the melody of *svatovac* and continues by playing the dance *logovac* and various humorous songs among which the most popular songs were *bećarac* (ex. 7). This was a sort of next level of gradation leading to the non-strict and optional segments of the wedding ceremony, which was dominated by a colourful dance repertoire. Hence, unlike *svatovac*, a humorous *bećarac* was a form entirely dominated by its literal content, and for that reason not imaginable without singing or distinctive verses (amplification). In addition, some researchers argue that, “*bećarac* is not a song, at least not in the ordinary sense of the word” (Matović, 1998:17), but all agree that it represents a specific vocal-instrumental piece that with its humorous and often satirical or grotesque content entertained people. For that reason the *gajdaš* (later other instrumentalists) was perceived as a player of the instrument or maker of a “good mood”, a figure of cheerful and joyful atmosphere (Matović, 1998; Ilijin, 1978:209). *Bećarac* is a specific form of music representation that involves two kinds of specific music experience and status – songs domination and marginal instrumental tune. In such a constellation, there is no absolute dominance of one because the form itself stands for practice too, and collectiveness through music. Acknowledging what was mentioned above, it is important to emphasise once again that in this form, and at this level of development, dominance of the song never jeopardised the presence and function of the tune that profiles such accompaniment. However, as time went by, *bećarac* took a much more aggressive part in the development of the music tradition and had a strong impact on further, negative marginalisation of *gajde* in Vojvodina, as will be discussed. At the same time, it can be a good starting point for the next mode of coexistence between the song and tune.

3.2.2 Amplification of the Song (*Play with the singer!*)

As I already mentioned the *gajde* were dominantly perceived and used as an instrument of pure instrumental performance. However, people enjoyed making music together. Contextually, and more often, the sounds of the *gajde* could occur before, during or after a particular song performance i.e. during the harvest (ex. 8), or to migrate song, and transfer significance in other means of communication. Secondly, as was pointed out before, the *gajde* could integrate in song performance and significantly amplify the expression (*bećarac*). At this moment I will particularly focus on explanation of those principles of contact between song and *gajde* in closer relations or more immediate presence. To be extremely clear and concrete, it was not so uncommon to hear a song accompanied by the *gajde*, especially knowing that the instrumentalist could play and sing at the same time if he skilled enough, or if he played on the more “improved” or commodified *banatske gajde*.⁴⁵ The Ballad *Planino moja starino* (ex. 9) was recorded in the village of Mužinac near Sokobanja (Dević, 1997; Miljković, 1978) and it can be considered a peripheral case of traditional solistic male vocal performance.⁴⁶ Although the text exudes a different sensibility and atmosphere, the pastoral melody and pleasant tones of the *gajde* represent a different image, testifying to the fact that music does not necessarily need to follow the narratives of the song.

⁴⁵ The *banatske gajde* is a type of three-voiced *gajde* played over the whole of Vojvodina (Serbian Northern province). Another difference in construction is the inclusion of bellows (*meh*), used instead of a blowpipe to supply the bag with air (see Appendix).

⁴⁶ In his CD commentary, author Dragoslav Dević states that in Serbia men rarely sing solistically, “We [men] play, and women sing” (1997).

Figure 7.

Planino moja starino

The musical score is written for voice and gajdalo. The voice part is on a single staff with a treble clef, showing a melody with a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 80$. The gajdalo part consists of two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 70$. The lyrics are written below the gajdalo staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ornaments (trills).

voice

gajdalo

$\text{♩} = 80$

$\text{♩} = 70$

Pla- ni-no mo - ja sta - ri - no sta-na-jo, sta - ra pla-ni-no...

etc.

Planino, moja starino,
 Stanajo, Stara planino,
 Dosta sam po teb' hodio,
 Hajdučki barjak nosio.
 Hajdučki barjak nosio,
 Hajdučke čete vodio.
 Hajdučke čete vodio,
 I mnoge majke cvelio,
 A jednu majku najviše.
 Zakla joj sina Jovana,
 Odvedo ćerku Stojanku.

Mountain, my old,
 My home, *Stara Planina*,
 I have walked on you a lot,
Haiduk's flag I wore.
Haiduk's flag I wore,
Haiduk's troops I've led.
Haiduk's troops I've led,
 And many mothers made sad,
 And one mother the most.
 Killed her son Jovan,
 Took daughter Stojanka. (my trans.)

However, such disproportion could not be observed in vocal-instrumental relations as it demonstrates harmony and evenly balanced expression. After a short introduction on simple song motifs, the vocal enters with an expression that could also be noticed in Serbian epic songs, but also a melody lyrical enough to follow the logics of a ballad as hybrid narrative form situated between lyric and epic sensibility. In this song, the *gajde* act in a twofold manner (i) it duplicates the song's melody, which acts as a basis for (ii) as an enrichment of facture with supplement tones and ornamentation. The role of the *gajde* is thus functional, as they supports the main melody and make crossovers so that the singer has small stanzas (imperative continuity of sound). They are also aesthetic because they produce additive tones, ornaments or simply investing the specific timbre of the instrument. The result is a homogeneous facture (individual or combined) and expression which reveals deep coexistence and amalgamation of two different musical expressions, of two incarnations of music merged into a natural whole. This particular amalgamation could also be noticed in the *koleda* song where the player duplicates and amplifies with closer resemblance to the song, though without special aesthetic effects added which can be justified by the function and strictness of the ritual. The role of the instrument in this case is not to accompany the song but to equally participate and reinforce significance and expression. If the song was predominant it would mean that the music structure is *voice-centred*, which Michel Chion defines as creating a sound environment where "the voice attracts and centres our attention" (cited in Clayton, 2008:139). Although such form of expression includes the presence of two musical entities, they construct one musical whole. One can perceive that the instrumental accompaniment is the extension of the song, or it can be just the opposite, getting closer to the feature of "double representation" (Stockmann, 1991:322). Such a dialectical whole, by means of music, fuses two different identities, subtracting all individual omnipotence so that the total fusion and unity of music expression could be established. It seems as well that it is natural to the notions of collectiveness itself. In that position there are no authorities except the object of music, while both expressions and meanings are formed, supported and amplified by the instrument. For those reasons I inscribed such a relationship as *amplification*.

3.2.3 Hybrid as Noise (*Maybe we could do it all together?*)

Migration and amplification are distinguished mechanisms of song's appropriation that demonstrate the mimetical capabilities of this particular instrument. However, song's appropriation could be a less organised performative activity, and it could be quite aleatorical one. The last mode touches issues which concern sound or voice-scapes as a process of chance, a mode of uncoordinated music activity where sounds, song(s) and tune coincide. As music distanced from ritual context became less strict and conventional it therefore became more movable. To take an example, during harvest, music was a constituent of social reality and, as was mentioned before, an instrumental tune on the *gajde* followed the songs performance. Nevertheless, although sound objects juxtaposed in time they could eventually overlap as a result of intention or accident. Since music is a collective product, people were not entirely aware of the process or objects in which crossovers led to *hybridisation* that thus creates "new" music and meanings. To justify this assertion I will reach out for ethnography.

The Noise in the Fields

In surroundings of Leskovac people gathered to work together in the fields. During that time they performed songs and tunes which helped them to ease the hard work and to "resound" the space and simply to entertain themselves. On the way to the fields the player on the *gajde* performed *putnička svirka* (as at weddings), while later women sang numerous, so called *žetelačke pesme* (harvest songs). Meanwhile singers might hear the *gajde* and, although it could entirely be a idiosyncratic case in the local traditional music system, it seems that they enjoyed singing together with the *gajdardžija*. According to the details, they performed an *old harvest song* (ex. 10) while the instrumentalist "improvised" on his own tune, and to some extent tried to adapt. Since he adjusted his performance, prolonging the duration of finalis (tonic, base tone of the melody), making small crossover sections between the strophes of the song, it was still evident that the result was not a very coherent form of musical expression as in previous modes of appropriation. At least clearly noticeable for the connoisseur of the terrain was that

this form was structured from two more or less independent music entities. A persistent harvest song and a truncated instrumental tune in such form achieved the capacity of a hybrid representation. For performers it was normally irrelevant largely because of two reasons: (i) they appreciated collective music-making much more than the music as a particular object, and (ii) because they produced a sound or noise that seems rooted in tradition, structured from acknowledgeable sounds, and thus legitimate or acceptable to their musical and aesthetic judgement. It might be true as it was inscribed in music they performed. His prolongation tones were actually a drone of the melody that was sung, which means that his performance was procreative or maybe even more or less migrational when he performed crossovers, and imitative or amplificational when he doubled the drone line of the song. However, such hybridisation could be more distinctive and eccentric, as the next example will indicate where constituents of one form are extremely *independent* and where the lack of *interdependent* and compromised fills the form.

The Noise of the Working Bees

In autumn people gathered in houses to work on food preparation, sew and knit, embroider, to socialise and to make music. In some regions there were a large number of specialised songs for such occasions which people simply called *sedeljka*. Girls and women sang while men played instruments. Although the songs and tunes testify to their probable ritual origins, the occasion was much more liberal and cheerful. What is also important to add is that *sedeljka* was a typically free context in which many moral strictures could be dispensed with. As music is a socially structured activity, obtained permissions made a space for musical experiments too. Therefore, it was entirely legitimate for everyone to perform music at the same time, although it was rarely done in everyday music practice. The example of *sedeljka* (ex. 11) shows how one old-styled song (performed by women) can be juxtaposed with the next one, a man's song. It was sufficient to make noise, but when the *gajdar* joins in with his improvisational tune, a special sonic phenomenon occurs which Timothy Rice also recognised as a manner specific for wedding music performances under the term "celebratory cacophony" (1994:157). Everybody wants to make music, to participate and it is normal for people to either make music or simply

make noise. A specific context like *sedeljka* provided legitimacy to such expression. The diverse and hybrid form of music resisted the moral principles and strictness of the ritual music and music that was conditioned by many contextual rules. The mixture of *gajde* (instrumental) music, gender mixed song performance (which could rarely occur) made all social and musical norms relative, constructing hybrid form that turns out to be a metaphor of their actual freedom. The sound result was also a particular mixture of styles, “cacophony” or hybrid harmony derived from superpositioned musical structures and chaotic formal progression. Therefore, the identity of such phenomenon was undifferentiated and vague because it was not the meaning kept as an imperative but the creation of a simple, diverse noise. On the other side, one can assume that music objects or performers sacrificed the identities of their music in order to incorporate it into the de-identified hybridal music or noise form. To some extent, one could also say that it was typical for people to assert noise as an aesthetic value because noise was present and distinguished in the life scripts of the people. In the past, living in remote villages, surrounded by mountains, people used noise and loudness in order to communicate, to transfer information of great importance such as the death of some member of the family or for colloquial or spontaneous conversation. However, noise was an essential component of the religious system as well, believing that noise had apotropaic effects, as in the *koleda* ritual. The experience of noise in the *koleda* ritual proves that it was significant because of mere physical presence, in order to fill the space with sound, but it was also *a part of belief*, to chase off the bad spirits. Finally, this was a strong factor of musical organisation i.e. an evident in chain form of performance, which prevented insertion of silence and provided the continuous presence of the sound. However, metaphorically there is a possibility to argue or define *music as noise*, “a mode of communication between man and his environment, a mode of social expression, and duration itself...therapeutic, purifying, enveloping, liberating” (Attali, 1977:9). In addition, the examples of hybridisation given supplements Attali’s conceptualisation of noise and updates interpretative possibilities. They are evident examples of how music’s unstructured appearance can be marginalised and experienced at the levels of noise. On the other hand, it could be perceived as a structured and articulated product, like *noise as music*, which is seen in numerous instances of typical noise that becomes listened to *as music*. One of the related

examples could be the humming noise of *oale* in the *koleda* ritual or the music of their cattle bells etc.,⁴⁷ which show clearly that noise is difficult to define, “since what is noise to me may well be music for you” (Small, 1998:121). Finally, noise could easily be discussed as a physical phenomenon, unwanted sound, high volume, or in music dissonance, distortion, but also it can be understood as a specific hallmark, attribute, feature of social communication (as public noise), cultural identity, authority and so forth. What is more deeply related to this study is that noise can be that particular Other, unappropriated and marginal identity, that unwanted, distinctive and subversive or non-articulated sound in a musical sense and its meaning. It is materialised in each distance of originated, migrated song and as a presence, a duplication of identity (*in-beyond*). Furthermore, it can take the role of amplification and “natural twinship”, a reflection of the initial source and its instrumental image which could be perceived in the sense of Foucauldian *aemulatio* (1966:22-23). Finally, noise can be regarded as negatively marginal sound or a music hybrid (*in-between*). However, it can be a cultural, social or even ethnical category – a metaphor for and reflection of the marginal, which is the next proposition to be explored.

⁴⁷ There are numerous late twentieth and twenty-first century composers who experiment with the combination of music and noise, presented noise as music or music as noise, for example, Stockhausen, Ligeti, Xenakis, movements such as the Fluxus etc. For some, the interplay between music and noise is an essential aesthetic feature.

3.3 Reflections of Ethnicity and the Marginal Culture

Issues of marginality and ethnicity are somehow organically connected, as was described by particular insight of sociological research in the field, depicted in the first part of this study. However, as a pivoting concept marginality attracts notions of ethnicity, identity or identification, authenticity and many more relations that could be challenged within this natural framework. It seems impossible to say which of those are more or less important, but there is a space to assert that they are interrelated and causable. In this chapter, I particularly wish to discuss questions of ethnicity and its importance for constructing the marginal subject in relations to the more broad idea of the marginal culture. Because of the specific ethnical origin of the subjects examined here, I would analyse marginality or marginal culture through the concept of Vlachian ethnicity.

Again, ethnicity, like marginality is well known as a slippery field because conceptualisations are simply not congruent in the research conducted so far. From literature, one can observe how ethnicity can easily be misinterpreted, equated and finally understood as close determination of the race (Platt, 2006:69). Others could be particularly focussed on its collectiveness, and in this approach ethnicity could be defined as self-conscious; a claimed identity shared with the others based on beliefs in common descent (Ibid.). However, what essentially connects both concepts of ethnicity and marginality is that they suppose the existence of practical difference, which *per se* is a self-evident and natural condition (Agawu, 2003:231).

One of the prominent enunciators of ethnicity, Thomas Eriksen in his significant and influential study *Ethnicity and Nationalism* emphasises that “ethnic relations are fluid and negotiable; that their importance varies situationally” (1993:21). Ethnicity is more complex because it deals with large systems of origins, language, religion or tradition, and even more knotted when it arises as a signification from contact with Others, especially in terms of migration or colonisation (Platt, 2006:69). Therefore, the identification of such ethnicity deals with the dual perception of Self and Other which can further be connected to terms of inclusion and exclusion. Despite its

modest name, ethnicity contains many dimensions of differentiation, which in many aspects coincide less with conventional definitions of this domain. In general, there are two different streams of conceptualisation and problematisation of the ethnicity as such. First is of the primordialists that perceive ethnicity as a homologue, primordial acquisition, while circumstantialists argue ethnicity as a “situationally malleable and context-dependent understanding” of different social, cultural or political circumstances (Brubaker-Loveman-Stamatov, 2004:49-50). Eriksen saw a great influence of the Chicago school of sociology, and particularly Robert Park’s contributions to the concept establishment, nature and problems of ethnicity (1993). However, too many different and possibly incompatible case studies possibly caused the lack of firm determination, as was the case with marginality. There is no final definition of ethnicity since it is case and time-sensitive, meaning that the definition varies as well. What today seems “ethnic” tomorrow could become allocated as “hybridal”, as the next case should illustrate.

North-eastern parts of Serbia in many ways resemble the southern parts of the country. The area is remote from the centre – Belgrade, a hermetic circle that, in the strategic and cultural domains, demonstrates its peripheral position due to lack of infrastructure or any other vital advantage. The rise of cultural marginality followed largely because of the slow penetration of the modern. Surely the natural isolation of high mountains (Homoljske mnt.) and rivers (Morava, Danube and Timok) contributed greatly to geocultural marginality and because of that this area was less exposed to migration and extensive settlements than others (Dević, 1990:3). In a cultural sense it is quite a specific and distinctive place where one can observe particular coexistence and respect between two main groups of settlers, Serbs and Vlachs (or Wallachs). Vlachian ethnicity is a “performative dialogue” of several ethnical and/or cultural groups of population that once were or now are present on the Balkan Peninsula, though possibly influences could be much wider. The remains of Romanised ethnical groups (Karawlachs, Tsintsars, Aromanians etc.), and additional amalgamation with Slavs gave a hybrid, creating a

recognisable *genus proximum* expressed primarily in culture, language⁴⁸ and music (Nedeljković, 2001:44). These are the true distinctive values of Vlachian self-identity, ethnicity and marginal culture. Prior to the beginnings of the 20th century, Vlachs were predominantly nomads (migrational, Protobalkan, animal husbandry group), but in later history they aspired to more stationary settlement orientation (Ibid.). Unfortunately, without large success the Vlachs never reached demographic critical mass to emerge at the level of nation or more exactly the levels of nation-state. Therefore, in that aspect their position *per se* remained static or *poised* (§2.1.3) and subsequently marginalised (status of nation-state). However, the Vlachs expressed their identity and culture with great strength and vitality, proving that holistic resolution could be reached and that eventual marginalisation could be transcended with the means of their rich culture (Weissberger). Two streams of Vlachian ethnical groups came to Serbia. At the end of 18th century the first stream called *Ungureani* (“Hungarians”⁴⁹) came to inhabit Serbian mountain areas (Homoljske mnt.) in the Northeast, mostly because they mainly dealt with animal husbandry (Vlahović, 1980:103). The other stream, called *Țărani* (Ser. *Carani*) originated from *Țara Rumânească* (the land of Romanians), settling the north-eastern parts of Serbia after the Ottoman rule in the 19th century (Ibid. 103-104). Since *Țărani* were predominantly occupied with agriculture (agronomy, viticulture etc.), they inhabited the river plains and Negotinska Krajina (Ibid. 103). Even though the Vlachs are “Orthodox Christians”, it is hard for one to determine their belief as such because it suffers from the same syndrome of Christian-pagan dualistic provenience. To some extent Vlachs are truly non-Christian or pagan. They cherish and practice all sorts of magic; a girl observes her potential lover through the wings of a bat to win over the young man, *vlajna* (Vlachian women) make charms and potions, tell fortunes, or simply do witchcraft, perform rituals and engage in numerous important cults etc. All this supports their sense of personal authenticity and allows them to perform their culture *as central* for them. Habitual forms of identification such as rituals, customs, and superstitions with special appreciation of life (birth or death) define their culture in every pore. Because of

⁴⁸ Vlachian language is a Romanian variety and thus belongs to the Romance language group, written in Latin script with specific diacritic features. More in: P. Neiescu - E. Beltechi - N. Mocanu, 2006.

⁴⁹ *Ungureani* came from Hungarian provinces of Banat, Erdély and Transilvania (cf. Vlahović, 1980:103).

similarities shared with Serbian religion or traditional belief (Lutovac, 1960:17), overemphasised freedom (Golemović, 1992:101), sometimes too “unstressed” or bizarre life style, but certainly pragmatic attitude towards matters of life and death, affection for music and dance etc., they easily fused with the majority population (holistically marginal), which allowed them to express both a particularly Vlachian and partial Serbian identity, allowing them to be “loyal” to the centre and to be self-orientated at the same time. Perhaps this is exactly a trap that many scholars experienced when making claims in discussions regarding Vlachian ethnicity. As far as I can tell, Vlachian music is hybridal, and I assume that it is the same for culture in general, but I will not opt to make barriers that in reality do not exist largely. In my opinion Vlach culture is permeable to influences from any direction which perhaps might be a less “ordinary” position. As Martin Stokes pointed out, great attempts have been made to tempt the significance of the “ethnical” or “ethnicity”, and somehow related “authenticity” of many marginal music(s), frequently making claims from the perspective of “racist folklore and ethnography”, trying to maintain and “erect boundaries” of distinctions (1994:6). Because of their specific genetics, Vlachian ethnicity at first is a pure *hybrid*, if such thing exists, while the perception of their identity at this point tends to locate their *difference* in a mostly positive sense. In addition, music is maybe one of the most vital parts of their culture as it is one of the marks of their main difference. The case of Vlachs and such claims are more questionable to dominant viewpoints where “ethnicities are violently suppressed and excluded [sic] from the classification systems of the dominant group” (Stokes, 1994:8). Such a difference in fact is the drive of Vlachian identity, sometimes more evident as confrontational, but also one that could be insignificant and even productive. In general, marginality exists in Vlachian culture and is most palpable in their ambiguous communicational modes. Vlachs equally well speak Serbian and Vlachian language, and also perform Serbian music as they would perform their own. Therefore, it is relevant to say that Vlachs naturally enriched Serbian culture just as Serbian culture influenced theirs. In many aspects, one could easily suppose that such amalgamation and bimusicality have many positive effects of which most can be extensively argued through the scopes of their intangible culture.

3.3.1 The *Cărabă* and Negotiable Identity

In this chapter I will examine the roles of music and musician within the death ritual among the Vlachs. Something which may seem significantly different when compared to Serbian (or many other) traditions is the concept of death and the performance of funeral rituals among Vlachs. It can be safely argued that this ritual is located in the centre of Vlachian traditional belief and that in fact it represents the essence of their tradition. Many researchers agree that some parts of this particular tradition show that the Vlachs have one of the most complex and vital death rituals in Europe (Es Durlić, 1998:157).⁵⁰ However, death is treated unconventionally, and contains the sediments of many cultural influences, which are connected and materialised in their intangible culture and subsequently their identity. Identity is the crucial point when such a ritual is being analysed, because for the Vlachs the deceased person is treated in many various directions with the same care as when the person was alive. For the Vlachs the body is a pure mediator of the soul (Zečević, 1967), but some also claim that the “physical principle pervades virtually all religious representations of this unique ethnic community” (Es Durlić, 1995:234). As the ritual is far too complex and additionally integrates many local varieties, at this point I will only name some of the most important points of its significance relevant for particular music performance. Firstly, Vlachs materialise death ritual into two general appearances – one that is being performed for specific deceased person (funeral), and other as a funeral repast named *pomană*, a ceremony held after one week, month, seven months, a year, and every seven years after the death (Vuylsteke, 1980). For Vlachs the funeral procession and *pomană* are mainly performed and “intended for an audience”, and can therefore be perceived as a sort of public act (Christensen, 2007). Nevertheless, particular parts of the procession are reserved for members of the family and as such, reveal its other, private side. The specific dichotomy is followed by dramaturgy, which depends on the circumstances in which a person died – if natural death occurred then the procession resembles a wedding by its rather joyful atmosphere (Vasić, 2004:53); if a young person dies, it can hardly be as such. It further connects to the conceptions

⁵⁰ Paun Es. Durlić has written extensively about Vlachian vernacular traditions.

of light and dark in the following Vlach beliefs. The deceased requires “light” on their journey and afterlife, so they make sure that before death a person holds a candle that should guide his way. Nevertheless, if the death was sudden, then they must provide a special item – a “candle of paradise” in order to compensate the absence of the light in afterlife (Es Durlić, 1995:235). Besides candles or light, members of the family also prepare personal belongings for the deceased, later placing items in pockets or in nearest distance.

Music has its significance in the entire process. A huge variety of songs follows the procession categorised by their function and purpose. In the funeral procession, music or even dance is of essential importance because it gives significance to ritual actions, and it signifies their cultural or ethnic identity. Firstly, a threnody named *bocetul* represents a “spontaneous intimate phenomenon” (Fracile, 1987:71), sung individually, by family members (private), and has improvisational character (Dević, 1990:25). The music in this threnody correlates to the textual component which is a narrative artefact that conducts meanings about the deceased. Then there are special ceremonial “Songs of the Dawn” or *zorile* (*zoril'i*), sung by women in the house of the deceased, early in the morning and before sun have risen. As the narrative content shows, *zorile* is a prayer to dawn, begging the Sun to rise as late as possible so that the closest ones can stay longer with the deceased (Fracile, 1987:74). Dević asserts that *zorile* are known in areas populated by *Țărani* from Oltenia (1990:23), while other resources comment on the fact that other group of Vlachs – *Ungureani* developed a related family of songs called *petrecătura*, used to escort the deceased to “heavenly fields of blessed shadows” (Gacović, 1999:12; 2000). Even though in the literature generally there are no mentions on instrumental interpretation of *zorile*, the extensive research done by Herman C. Vuylsteke in the 70s, in three zones of Vlachian geocultural area (Ključ, Negotinska Krajina and Timočka Krajina/Vallea Timocului), supported evidence of such migration from the vocally performed *zorile* to “an *aubade* traditionally played on the bagpipes too [called *cărabă*] as the sun rises...repeated 10 or 30 times [while] three women watching must turn towards the East” (1980). Vuylsteke noted that *cărabăș* (player on Vlachian *cărabă*) traditionally played *zorile* at sunrise while other resources (Fracile, Gacović, Dević) are holding to exclusive vocal performance of these songs, which is

expected knowing that song presumably migrated in its representational and “loyal” instrumental form, the musical identity created on the margins of the song.⁵¹ What is sure is that instrumental performance of this exact song only contributed to expression and representation. With a dignifying melody on the *cărabă*, music actually draws associations to dawn. This is accomplished with referential usage of melodic leaps on highest pitched tones and heavy ornamentation that creates an additional upper rhythmicised drone (Golemović, 1983:90), which in combination with the previous expressive tools picturesquely recaptures the sounds of the rooster, singing or making associations to dawn. This further complements the significance created with the instrumental timbre and high pitch of the tune, which established and insured the symbolic presence of the light that existed in their conceptions of death and which at the end is an essential part of a particular contextual framework (i.e. the candle of paradise). As particular insignias of the Vlachian music, it is essential to extract prolonged tones, referred in some of the research of *zorile* as *recto tono* (Vlajin, 1967:70), an element that is being placed in addition to firm melodic pylons and distinguishing leaps within melody line. However, specific vibratos and tremolos that are normally present in vocal practice are situated here, but in smaller amount probably due to a preservation of a specific rustical playing style and the technique of the performer on instrument that otherwise could produce tones of such quality. In comparison to original vocal forms of *zorile* which was probably metrical (*gusto syllabic*), the instrumental interpretation achieves more free expression of *rubato* performance, with variations of basic musical structure (compare fig. 8 and 9, ex. 12).

⁵¹ Vlachs consider sung and instrumental melodies to be much akin. In fact, they commonly use the verb to sing *kânt* (or *cânt*, *cînt*) in reference to playing an instrument – so, for example, one “sings the bagpipe” (Golemović, 1983:92, fn. 3). Some players use a different verb *dzîs* to differentiate vocal rendition from instrumental.

Figure 8.

Zorile Vocal Representation

parlando

Haj, he, dra - gi, dra - gi, o - pet dra - gi, haj, he,
dra-gi, dra - gi, o - pet dra - gi,
le - le, le - le, lo - ša stra - na, le - le, le - le, lo - ša stra -
- na. Gde - će o - na još da pa - da,
gde - će o - na još da pa - da,
Mo - li se gos-po-du sun - cu, mo - li se gos - po-du sun -
[hun] cu... etc.

Haj, he, dragi, dragi, opet, dragi, haj, he,
Lele, lele, loša strana,
Gde će ona još da pada,
Moli se gospodu suncu.

Hey, he, dear, dear, again, dear, hey, he,
Lele, lele, bad side,
Where it's going to fall again,
Pray to the god of Sun. (my trans.)

Figure 9.

Zorile Instrumental Representation



To some extent, one can draw a parallel with the style of the so-called *putnička svirka* (travel tunes), mentioned in previous chapters, that Serbs and Vlachs also perform on similar occasions. If there was no contextual causality of *zorile* this example could be considered as a form related to the “more free” character, not just because of the *rubato* style but because of the melodic features as well. From this statement one can also assume that Vlachian music demonstrates the particles of their ethnic identity and particular music culture. For a player, *zorile* is not just music played on some instrument, it is a tradition, an artefact of *communitas*, a

language or rhetorical tool of distinctive and collective ethnic or ultimately a particular marginal identity. Music therefore acts as a negotiable force, a powerful public medium that has the potential to claim the missing and “unauthorised” identity. Subtle but subversive, inverting the expected relationship between the (imagined) hegemonic superculture and subculture (Born-Hesmondhalgh, 2000:22), music is saturated with significance, challenging and invading the “evil eye” (as the metaphor of power) in order to gain the legacy of the authentic marginal as to form a unique identity. Music therefore is capable not just of reflecting but also of providing “the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed” (Stokes, 1994:4) as it is authentic giving the fact that performance and the performer are both considered “as representative of their culture” (Aubert, 2007:6). The hallmark of ethnicity or any identification is absolutely inscribed in music which could be materialised in most various ways and eventually acknowledged as significant to those notions. Therefore, the aspects of correlations between ethnicity and intonation, largely focused in the research of Izaly Zemtsovsky are also intrinsic to the questions of the Vlachian identity. Following the ideas of Asafiev and Yavorskii, he asserts that humans are capable of automatically classifying the sounds they hear as a natural or cultural process that he defined as *ethno-hearing* (Zemtsovsky, 2010).⁵² Zemtsovsky also presumes that, “To a certain degree, we *remember* what we *hear* – our native tongue has already influenced the formation of our hearing, in a musical as well as a linguistic sense” (Ibid.). In addition, Edward Lipman considers Zoffia Lissa’s further determinations of such relationship with special notions of music intonation as a structural constituent of music expression and representation *in* music.

Lissa emphasises, however, that the folk languages of the various ethnic and national milieus do indeed have their typical melodic intonations, which are the foundations of the national character of folk music in each case. It is not the tonality of the music that creates the character but precisely the peculiar melodic turns – the intonations. The longevity of these intonations does not imply that, like words, they have a fixed semantic meaning, but it does ensure the continuity of musical tradition, even when the intonations are consciously taken up into sophisticated national styles (1992:494-495).

⁵² I wish to acknowledge the contributions of Izaly Zemtsovsky, who provided me with his unpublished paper *Ethnic Hearing in the Sociocultural Margins: Towards the Identity of Homo Musicans Polyethnoaudiens*. In addition, he has generously provided a great deal of advice, often in the context of illuminating some of the matters and issues discussed in this study.

However, besides the capacities of music itself, the Vlachs prevail in more exact matters of their individual and individual-as-collective identity and culture. The question that arises at this point is how Vlachs “conspicuously” perform their identity, and to what extent it could be presented in the cultural act under consideration. This requires going a step back to the issues on Vlachian ethnicity and notions of their doubleness or (hybridal) marginality. As a member of marginal culture, Vlachs identification is a special space of their twofolded reactions to reality. At one moment it can be closer to the referential centre (Serbian culture), or it could be hermetically closed and negatively marginal, therefore poised. Homi Bhabha argues that such a positional shift is procreative to identity, as he puts it, “identity is claimed either from a position of marginality or in an attempt at gaining the centre: in both senses, ex-centric” (1994:254). However, it is this dislocational capability that gives them privileged status of the identity that they do perform, “a process by which objectified others may be turned into subjects of their history and experience”, as Bhabha significantly presumed, a process of this “enunciative present” (Ibid.255). Through myths and music the Vlachs practiced their ethnic identity on one side, and materialised the substantial (self)consciousness of their imagined state, “inventing” nation where it doesn’t actually exist (Anderson, 1983:6). Although their death rituals and music within are perceived as “discrete” in comparison to Serbian culture or any other supremacy or “centre”, it is those cultural particularities that supports their identity and dislocate them from *in-between* to *in-beyond*, therefore emphasising a legitimate form of such authenticity out from the “local” borders of their culture. How then is this evident in music? To start from the contextual framework, it has already been said that such a developed and vivid death myth or ritual is not even similar to Serbian cultural experience. Vlachian conceptions of death itself initiate dislocation from the dominant, but paradoxically attracts to it, making a new and holistic centre more arbitrary and transparent for them. Furthermore, it is their “stage” where ethnicity is being performed in its full capacity, and it opens a space to express such identity through music or dance. Although exclusive to the death ritual, the very presence of *cărabăș*, or an instrument that is generally used for other social occasions shows the Vlachian equation of the importance of the link between living and the dead. Because of its intracultural legitimacy the player is entrusted with powers to migrate the song *zorile* and to

deceptively inscribe meanings on the peripheries of the initial source, as to perform or represent “ethnic” or authenticity “with music that makes [them] different from other people” (Stokes, 1994:7). Therefore, *cărabăș* is an individual and collective figure that encompasses specific marginal position which then claims the dislocation from the centre with his specific appearance, expression, signification and authentication.

The second detail that is intriguing concerns the issues of players’ personal identification. Until today, Vlachs have identified themselves as Yugoslavs (before) or Serbs, and rarely as Vlachs but more as an additional identification token rather than a true distinction or self-definition. Today the government recognises them as a distinctive ethnic group or minority, although in contemporary sense we all became slightly more “deethnicised”, more close to the possibilities of self-defining in terms of regional identity. When Vuylsteke came to North-Eastern Serbia to make recordings of extraordinary musical Vlachian performances he arranged his activities that lasted during the period between 1970 and 1978, visiting this area at least twenty times (Vuylsteke, 1980). The music of the death ritual was captured, as he stressed “with a certain amount of discretion” by which the author further explains the loss of technical quality of those recordings. As he acknowledged, with the help of one townsman or local person named Žika (Ibid.) he actually found a pathfinder to help him in gaining access to the “homes and the hearts of the Wallachians” (Ibid.). Nevertheless, this point is crucial to explain some matters of the personal identification that together raise issues of this marginal culture, identities and relationships within. Firstly, at that time (during the 1970s), Serbia was highly organised country ruled by Socialists and this had a strong impact for those who came from “the outside”, especially those who conducted some research. People were not eager to help, not because of their will but because of the repercussions from the regime that they might suffer afterwards. Additionally, my experience of fieldwork showed that people in remote areas of the country do not communicate so easily, and it takes time to convince them that you are not there to take an advantage, but because of the true reasons that they might not believe in at first. On his journey, Vuylsteke encountered many interesting and extraordinary examples of the Vlachian tradition and I do not see that anyone could have any objections about it. Eventually he came

to the village of Plavna and recorded a well-known Vlachian *cărabăș* named Jovan Paunović who played music among which was *zorile*. Since this was a kind of music that you do not play to everyone, especially a stranger, one could assume that the researcher was convincing in his approach. However, one detail particularly raised questions of both ethnicity and Vuylsteke's degree of penetration into the society. Because Vlachs were discouraged by the State apparatus from performing their identity or religion, and even to register at Municipalities and Orthodox churches, which was in some cases the only document that they had of their existence, many people identified themselves simply as Yugoslavs. Furthermore, they used Serbian names so they could register, and with some other actions this tyranny of the regime challenged their collective and personal ethnical or cultural identification. However, it seems that Vlachs did not care so much about this since their genetics were already hybridal, consisting of both Vlachian and Serbian ethnic origin, not counting openness and adaptability that they have as such. Vlachians are aware of their descent and very conscious about their belonging to what could be named as "symbiotic ethnicity". This is what they consider as their main attribute and advantage, the main reason for their holistic marginality. Their hybridity showed two nonconfronting identities, one well-marked public (Serbian) and one more private and intimate Vlachian. My conclusion, on the basis of other resources and materials that I have consulted (see Bibliography), is that the *cărabăș* officially introduced himself as Jovan Paunović a (typically Serbian name) and not as Van Brândușan which was his culturally asserted or self-given Vlachian name and personal identity. Some could assume this could be important, but others might wonder if it was relevant at all. I personally know some Vlachs that are proud to distinguish themselves *as being different* but are also comfortable with the official (legal) or the only (Serbian) names that they got. From many interviews and conversations with local musicians, it is more than evident that they perform and appropriate Serbian music as much as it can happen *vice versa*. *Cărabăș* can play the same dance by a different name, performed among Serbians as *četvorka* and known by Vlachs as *ora de patru* (Golemović, 1983:89) or *stara vlajna*⁵³ and *bătrânească* (Vuylsteke, 1980). For Vlachs the "medium is the message" and even though they speak a different language or use different names, their cultural otherness is

⁵³ *Stara vlajna* in Serbian language actually means *Old Vlachian woman*.

authenticated and expressed by other means. They can sing Vlachian songs in Serbian or they could simply combine music with Serbian words (Vlajin, 1967:70-71) which is an evidence of their positive marginal status. However, the *cărabăș* played the death ritual music as *zorile* and although it might seem differently, one could also assume that, while the intimacy was present he possibly felt comfortable both as Jovan Paunović or Van Brândușan.

Plate 7.

Van Brândușan/Jovan Paunović, village of Plavna (Kučevo).



3.4 The Woman's Work: Centralising the Marginal

At this point, I want to discuss the unenviable position of women in (Balkan) patriarchal society. I am especially concerned with the questions that define mechanisms of how music could be used to more or less permanently transcend the marginalised position which defines women's status in given social milieu. In this sense, the case that will be examined inverts gender concepts within Vlachian culture. The Vlachian identity discussed above, in many ways, deals with their marginal position and defines their cultural practice and seemingly their identity. It shows also how music is a part of this particular marginal culture and how it has been used to prevent the negative orientation or negative outcomes of being placed *in-between*. Therefore, I see Vlachian culture as marginal because it bears the capacities of both individuals and society to invert given circumstances and to employ all that could celebrate such marginality, keep their identities and reveal their vitality, versatility or otherness or the strength of their society and culture to resist incorporation into challenging centres. For these reasons, *in-between* systematically becomes *in-beyond*. However, inside those circles there are some substantial levels of being marginal or marginalised. In order to get closer to the situation that testifies to the participation and function of instrumentalists and particular music, in this specific event I will focus on both women's perspective and her "co-working" partner – the player. It will become clear that the example leads us to an understanding of the principles that are applicable over a much wider context than this particular case suggests, as this kind of relationship also existed in a seemingly different cultural setting. In that sense, significant parallels of the Banat regional experience, on different (or perhaps the same) occasions could be distinguished and interconnected.

On the holiday named *Duhovi* (Pentecost, 50 days after Easter) in the village of Duboka (Kučevo, north-eastern Serbia) people gathered for *zavetina* and *pomanǎ* to celebrate - commemorate all the faithful departed (as All Souls' Day). After private commemorations in the graveyards, visiting special holy trees called *zapis*, people started to gather in large numbers at the village centre, while a strange vernacular phenomenon slowly began to take place. It was believed that

certain women from Duboka had the “talent” to communicate with the dead and predict the future, transferred from generation to generation, but always in the same village or very often within the same family. In most cases, those women were already socially marked, sometimes as witches and some of them marked as barren women. In communal life they were especially recognised and known as *rusalja*.⁵⁴ According to traditional belief, *rusalja* was a person that had special spiritual skills, able to predict future, natural states, which were essentially important for communal agriculture, but also as a person who is able to mediate between the deceased and the members of their family (Sinani, 2009:59). On the other hand, she was also marked by an immoral bias, being observed even in childhood as flirtatious or promiscuous (Vlachs call this *strndjanje*⁵⁵), or lacking the firm social “education” emphasised in the patriarchal system in which she used to live. However, on some occasions the *rusalja* was regarded more as a special person, a shaman, an awkward extrasens. Every year on the exact day the *rusalja* would become anxious, dizzy and pale, and experience shivering and convulsions. People believed that the spirits of the dead had summoned her as she hysterically struggled, yelled and cried. Those spirits possessed her body and soul. Such divination, predictions and communications with the dead during the mystical delirium of the *rusalja* was just the beginning of the “orgiastic” ceremony in which the main role was surprisingly entrusted to a woman (Nikolić-Stojančević, 1967:74). Although many doctors, researchers and scholars tried to solve the mystery of the “disease”, as they frequently defined the particular behaviour, eventually failing to do so, the community knew exactly what was happening and knew what must be done to return the *rusalja* from the particular trance state. They called a group that were on a special “duty” that day, three kings (the main one with a sword), three queens and a musician of *cărabă* gathered in a procession called the *crai* (the king). *Cărabăș* played a tune known under the same name *crai* (a type of *putnička svirka*; ex. 13, fig. 10) while others, with similar rhythmical or dance movements imitated music, walking in a row consisting of three virgins and either two or three

⁵⁴ Probably originating from Roman celebration on *domenica de rosa*, *rusalje* is “traditional, local, hysterical epidemic which with autosuggestion periodically repeats on Duhovi, on the same place, in the same families or at least in families that were in blood relationship” (Majzner, 1922:244).

⁵⁵ Among Vlachs there is a special practice of legalised premarital sexual relationships of younger people that, with parental consent go to “*strndjanje*” (Golemović, 1992:101).

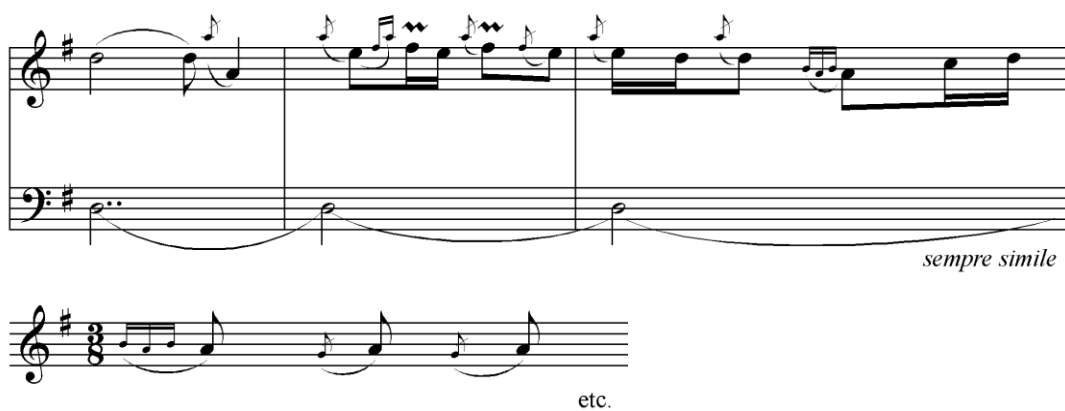
young men on the mission to save the *rusalja* (Subotić, in: Majzner, 1922:231). As she heard the endless sounds (or noise) of *cărabă*, the woman became more ecstatic and aggressive. Only specific music of the *cărabă*, loud noise and dance could bring her to peace, to reality (Sinani, 2009:21; 50). The group of *crai* members arrived on the scene and tried to repel the spirits from her by performing a special magical tune – *basma* for *rusalja* (ex. 13, fig. 10) on the *cărabă*, dancing around her three times and if successful together they performed the *rusaljsko kolo* (*rusalja* dance) helping her to dance with them. The process repeated several times, each moving her slowly throughout the village, presenting publically her behaviour and ritual exorcism. “The dance is not carried out in isolation but is part of a festival” (Wenzel, 1967:369). It was essential for *rusalja* to “perform” her trance and behaviour in public, because it was believed that she must reveal her powers to the community and mystically transfer messages of the dead or gods to the people (Antonijević, 1990:164). The status of music was entirely regarded as a taboo. As Antonijević claims, tunes for *rusalja* were never performed before such an occasion because it might provoke the trance of the women (1990:166). It was strange that such a highly redundant melody was used to bring the *rusalja* to a conscious state, as it was predominantly argued in the literature or even in statements of the performers. Ethnomusicologists like Andrijana Gojković were also convinced of music’s powers to heal and to awaken the *rusalja* (Antonijević, 1990:167), although it was music that reflected different effects and ideas which were contradictory. Of course such trance inducing music, being repetitive could easily be memorised and in the long-term become recognisable to people (Sinani, 2009:78), and there are many studies that have highlighted the relationships between music and trance, such as Gilbert Rouget’s seminal study on the particular phenomena (1985). In correspondence with Rouget’s conception of trance one can conclude that the music used in *rusalja* substantiated altered states of consciousness marked by movement, noise, social dimension, crisis and sensory stimulations. Archetypal repetitiveness surely could not seem appropriate for her “healing” treatment – it was the opposite. However, in a particular situation its loudness was procurational, as the “deafening music” (Nikolić-Stojančević, 1967:74) once more corresponded or was loyal to beliefs and materially inscribed as distinctively “noisy” as it was described in previous examples. Repeating musical phrases could only contribute to her

trance while loudness purposed and indicated *rusalja*'s return into reality. During performance, *crai* actors shouted words that verbally describe repetitiveness and noise of the music while it also represents a mantric recall to *rusalja* to awake.

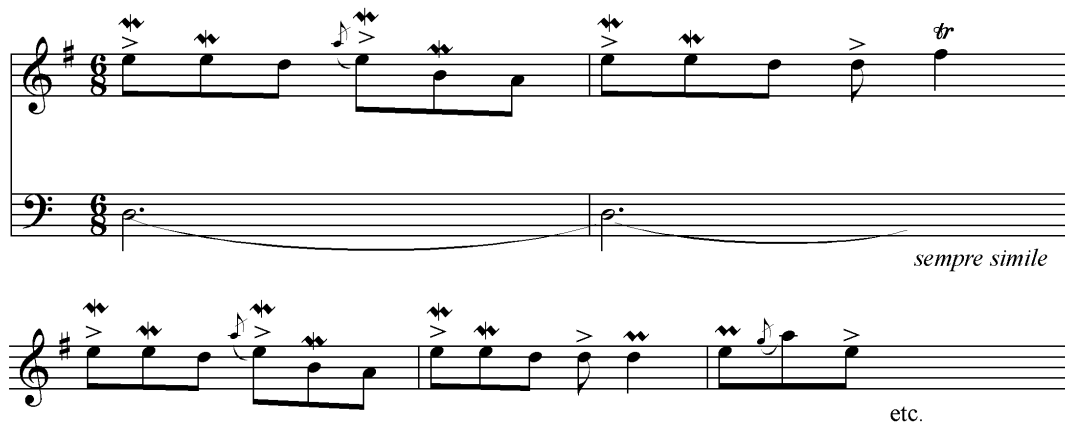
Figure 10.

Crai* improvisation and *basma* for *rusalja

Improvisation (fragment)



Basma for *rusalja* (fragment)



Op, șa și jar așa,
Șvinkodate jar așa,
Așa, *bela*, șa!
Șinde gura, maj!
Ajde, *bela*, aj!

Wake up, hop!
Once more, again more!
So, *bela*, so!
More, you hear, hey!
C'mon, *bela*, hey! (my trans.)

In such a case the words are not a textual component of the song but a specific sound enrichment, an additional component of noise. However, the performer's cognition and experience does not perceive music for *rusalja* as clearly as one would expect. The player does not see that he is playing. He is not aware of his performance *as music*. For *cărabăș* the whole procession was unfathomable and he claimed, "I don't know anything, it just goes, we yell!" (Sinani, 2009:52). Such music for him and for the listeners was essentially represented and understood as pure noise that was being used for specific purposes. With the loud sounds of the crowd, the *rusalja*'s affective screams and repetitive music, the entire procession could be better described as a representational sonic form of expression saturated with noise than *as music* or at least what could be encompassed in modern terms. The next step in possible readings from the above example concerns issues of disproportion between the expected relationships of such music and society and should offer perspectives that I want to address at this point. In this particular case, it seems very useful to recall some of the previously asserted attributes of the *gajde* player, as he was marginal in this overall experience. In the *koleda* case, I mentioned that the player used to participate in rituals because of his distinctive position in society. From specific ritual practice, one can conclude that he gained additional social standing because of his skills as a player and/or his participation in the ritual mediation that provisioned another argument for his social elevation. Every additional repetition of this act would strengthen his position, as he eventually became an important social factor, an authority. Again, his authority is not measured on the same scale as that of the gods, but as he made communication, he was privileged and distinctive from other people in the village. Being socially different did not give him the power as one might perceive. However, such social approval gave him the right to be central and important, to act as a social authority. After all, the questions of such distinctiveness, of difference in fact are the questions of power (Solie, 1993:6). Musical instrument in his hands becomes the sceptre of his public domination and with music he communicates. His playing capabilities, music and social skills or activities could substantially increase his significance within society. The same acts in *rusalja* case were *cărabăș* performs his social location and identity in an authoritative manner. The elements that he incorporates in such an event are of course musical, but they could also rest upon prerequisites

of such performance or advocacy of his local culture or Vlachian ethnicity, gender and social position, as being a musician or simply a figure known to the public. Therefore, there is not simply authority of music but of the musician, while his identity is a vehicle that drives particular music and that finally defines it. In such stance, it can be more significant to negotiate how the musician could legitimate particular performance and how the *rusalja* could benefit from it.

Literature, ethnographic resources and recordings tend to discuss the questions of the social authenticity of the *rusalja* performance in general. Early studies tried to understand and describe such performances as “disorders” in the context of psychiatrics or neurosciences, while attaching evident ethnographic details (Subotić, V. Jakovljević etc.). Further “readings” mainly focus on social or anthropological dimensions of the ritual practice and negotiated questions on authenticity of such phenomenon. These studies also tended to demystify particular practice and to prove that *rusalja* was not a phenomenon of a strange, physical or nervous disorder, but a performance with a much more delicate social function. The first move towards this were made by separating objective and subjective influences from matters of cause and purpose. In his cultural perspective Majzner argued Subotić’s qualifications of a particular practice as authentic and doing so classified subjects into two general categories – trance and hysteria, and their influence on the *rusalja*, qualifying this act as performances of so called “simulants” (1922:243). The simulants are actually women who are trying to use a particular social act or occasion to demonstrate, practice and advertise their femininity and to some extent even witchcraft (Kulišić-Petrović-Pantelić, 1998:386). Going further from this point, in his detailed study *Rusalje* (2009), Daniel Sinani elaborates that the phenomenon is much more related to the social position of women in the society and that the ritual is performed by “persons from the social margins, primarily women that feel many forms of deprivation and suffer from certain frustrations – whether emotional or sexual in nature” (2009:291). In addition, their marginalisation from the acting pressures which society exerts were triggered by their powerless position to the expectations of professional achievement, exclusion from religious life, the mainstreams of decision-making or the inability to get married or have

children. Sinani believes that being a *rusalja* means being capable of recognising a female acting figure in society, to occupy a certain social space and attract attention for at least a short time, while on the other side it fails to permanently change their status and allows only short-term consolation (Ibid.). However, other women might see such an occasion as a good chance to advertise their professional capabilities as witches, using the lack of a significant presence of institutionalised religious system in the broader social environment. In particular arguments therefore it is also obvious that there are practical reasons for participation of the *cărabăș* in this public act of authentication. Firstly, as already recognised and respected figure of the society he was ideal for this position. His social credibility and attachments to ethnicity, identity and tradition could be used to reach the centre that *rusalja* aspires. Secondly, in patriarchal societies as the Vlachian, there are not many opportunities for women to express their presence to such an extent, and the participation of the *cărabăș* actually legitimates her radical appearance in public, thus giving her a sort of social recognition. It means that the *cărabăș* helps her to draw attention in realms of legitimate activity and at least for one day have the chance to emerge from obscurity, to shift position from marginal to central. It is a matter of the central importance of *cărabăș*, which he invests in the forms of her social advertisement. His music therefore is marginal because the importance of his *basma* is leveled with the *rusalja's* hysterical screams, and is used as mere additional sound source or noise. Music here is used as repetitive, monotonous and perceptively less transparent, being placed in such sonic context that surrounds the tune of the *cărabăș*. However, his currently marginal music and his centric significance were employed as legitimacy to potential centralisation of another significantly different marginal subject, as the *rusalja* is in her everyday life. For such participation and significant investment, a player receives publicity and even a financial stimulus, because the *rusalja* also symbolically pays for his participation (Sinani, 2009:52).

This calls to mind a different but similar ritual known and practiced in Banat until the Second World War. Namely, the orgiastic custom called *revena* was performed annually on the first day of Lent (Carnival). The occasion itself signified the “custom-legal association of people in eating and drinking” (Nedeljković, 1990:197). During *revena* women wandered through the village,

drinking *rakija* (brandy), singing and dancing, and most importantly, acting indecently in every way, singing songs with highly immoral literal content. *Revena* formed a part of the vibrant *gajde* and vocal music practice over the entire Vojvodina, particularly in Banat, and it was an occasion solemnly reserved for older, married and fertile women to gather, with a clear taboo for any man to join in, or even watch. If some curious man tried to join in, they would be extremely verbally aggressive, making fun of his sexual attributes, while they might even physically abuse him (Malešević, 1996:143). Although many interpretations defines *revena* as a ritual act, there are evidences of contradiction, seeing more sense in the opposite. *Revena* was a relief method, an escape for the patriarchal prison that women experienced throughout their entire life, so for one day they could “let loose” and behave inappropriate to social constrictions. It was their rebellion, the subversion and disorder resulting with a ritual-like anti-structure (Turner, 1969), as they inverted their social status and the norms that patriarchal society nurtured. Some of the rhymed segments from *bećarac* songs that were performed on this occasion give further indications of how *revena* was understood, and referred to the lives of women in Kikinda (Asanović, 2007-2008).

Revena je ženski svetac pravi,
Makar sutra dobila po glavi!
Revena je, hoću ljuto piće,
Osećam se kao muško biće!

Revena is women's true holy patron,
Even if tomorrow I get mine on the head!
It's *revena*, I want fierce drink,
I feel like a male being! (my trans.)

The only permitted male in *revena* was *gajdaš* who played songs – particularly lascivious *bećarac*, different tunes and dances that were absolutely chosen in correlation to the current atmosphere and the will of women.⁵⁶ They paid for his music, and for his “silence”, because what they were doing was against any moral codes of such a durable and solid “male” society. Branislav Zarić, *gajdaš* from Kikinda remembered that he did not even speak very much, “*gajdaš* were more like some still life painting. He was there to play without any questions, not to comment, and particularly not to speak about it”.

⁵⁶ The ethnologist Mila Bosić discovered that, in the village of Mokrin (near Kikinda), people remembered a certain woman called Smilja Berarova, who used to play the *gajde* at *revena* (1996:215). This is the only reference to a female performer on this instrument in Serbia that I have found. It is highly atypical and could be considered as an extreme case within traditional culture.

In cases of *rusalja* and *revena* one could be aware of several aspects in the treatment and meaning of *gajde* music in such condition. Although different in a qualitative sense, both performances are used in fact as the means of centralising women's marginal presence in the society. With the more or less transparent position that everyday life imposes, those cases show a specific reinterpretation of women's figure and, at least for a short time, erase the narrow borders of her social existence. However, as the social structure imposed different codes of behaviour, her uprising subversively undermines the status and norms, thus inverting the structure with the individual engagement through the powers of anti-structure. The reflexivity of the specific performance is highly critical here. In order to legitimise her behaviour and performance woman reached for accepted forms of appearance – in form-like ritual or custom, which would significantly decrease the possibility of her being discredited further under those circumstances. At the same time, with such performance she had the possibility to establish and transmit public protest that might suggest her full presence, participation and significance in the society. Furthermore, with specific interventions, women could use their full capacities for such presentation and again become conspicuously tied to tradition and social structure with the “use” of the *gajde* player. I might say that it is interesting and also extremely indicative that this particular instrument was used in contexts of such a delicate matter. Although in further development, the *gajde* were replaced by violinists (*lutar*) in *rusalja* or an accordionist in *revena* performances, there are more relations and attachments of *gajde* to belief, social structure or tradition and gender that altogether demonstrate their significance and influence in social life. For that reason, I see the women's choice as wise, as they used the current attributes of “male” society to legitimise their practical walkout from the marginal and execute such transcendence. Therefore, the status of the player supports the mediating process in which correspondence between the female singers' individuality and their social environments is a strategy of their negotiation and performance of their subjectivities (Hofman, 2010). Now, what is the purpose of this music? Without wanting to present music reluctantly as omnipotent and extremely reflexive to situation and the status of its presence as one might expect, I am closer to argue that such participation is pure investment in subversive activities that empowers the marginal. I believe that in *rusalja* and *revena* music is utilised and exploited

more than having a fundamental role in the process. Music fills a space, it extracts from other noise that surrounds it, and makes the form more dynamic, what on a qualitative scale might eventually be discussed as substantial. Women screaming in *rusalja* and singing at *revena* are in the centre of the spectator's eye and ear, it is a tool of their negotiation with the social environment and neutralisation of the asymmetry between locations of men and women within a given social order (cf. Koskoff, 1993:150). Some may question the significance that music poses to that extent. In my opinion, one is aware of such a position giving favour to music in this particular constellation as I explained that both sides – performers and scholars are more or less aware of the capacities of music in the discussed cases. It is not believed that *Rusalja* is an entirely authentic trance ritual, as some researchers already concluded before, while the repetitional music played on *cărabă* strongly suggest disproportion between notions or questions of what music should do and what it really does. In addition, the *gajdaš* in *revena* is aware of the fact that he represents a “still life painting” and that his role is simply to entertain and not to draw full attention by his participation. Still, the authority of the player and his music contribute in the process of legitimisation and social approval for particular performances. The player is her enunciative tool as music is her disguise. Bhabha sees similar characteristics in position of the migrant woman and her “social and political invisibility” which could further be related to music that is being *used as a tool* for demarginalisation – music that could be “used by her in her secret art of revenge, *mimicry*” (1994:80). Musician and music helps in achieving less for himself and much more for the marginalised subject in her aspirations to become visible, and thus at least temporarily occupy the local centre. However, how do players form their centres and how does the instrument and this musical practice locate within their life, experience and creativity? The next chapter will deal with these specific questions, aiming to show that the music and musicianship can be understood as a marginal creative impulse and specific knowledge that the players use.

Plate 8.

***Rusalje* ritual, village Duboka (Kučevo), 1935. The Collection of Old Negatives and Photographs (Petar Ž. Petrović), no. 15119.**



4 The Craftsman

4.1 Craftwork Ligature: Music as a Condition of Experience and Knowledge

Music and musicianship in Serbia were treated as a sort of special gift or power, which established authority. Highlighting the position of social authority, Merriam suggested that “the musician may be assigned a special status in society which allows him certain privileges not given to others because of his importance to society at large” (1964:134). However, it is also important to realise terms in which the musician creates music(s), how he appears and acts in the society and how he experiences such a tangled network of conditions where music constructs. In this chapter, I will define the instrument construction, music and music-making process as a specific craft. The craft is understood as a condition in which the process of experience and knowledge are perplexed, thus forming the specific environment in which music is created. Because of this, in the main focus of this chapter I will discuss certain aspects of the experience, knowledge and craft in order to locate them within particular musical practice and tradition, and to make an argument on potential relations to marginality.

In the past, being a *gajde* player meant being not just a good musician or a music performer, but a good member of the community, a family man, a neighbour, an agricultural worker and even more significantly - a skilful individual, a craftsman. One article from the beginning of the 20th century tells a story how in Serbian villages playing and singing were treated as special craft work (*Muzički glasnik*, 1922). Personal memories of the players on fieldwork recordings, and the rich ethnomusicological literature give much importance to those perspectives from many angles, focusing on the aspects of *gajde* construction in correlation to music that is being

performed on the instrument.⁵⁷ However, musical interpretation in terms of the material aspects of the instrument is a result of performers practice as such, music skill, which correlates to the material, and also specific craft work in general. Possibly, broad interest in traditional culture and certain social activities were the reasons why *gajde* players also engaged in making instruments that would be used for music performance. Firstly, the instrument is a product of their need to somehow musically express themselves, and secondly as a result of social needs for music and for a musician as well. Making a good instrument is certainly not a mechanical action, as it requires much more life and craft skills than the object itself implies. However, as time passed many players stopped making their own instruments and began to rely on the expertise of specific skilled workers, thus narrowing the breadth of their practical knowledge.⁵⁸ There are manifold reasons for such a development but in general it can be characterised as being the result of the decline of engagement. Richard Sennett remarkably observed that the craftsman indeed “represents the special human condition of being engaged” (2009:20). At this stage, I found it useful to turn to the details of *gajde* construction, focusing on specific experience and practical knowledge. For the points addressed in this chapter I found Sennett’s study *The Craftsman* very useful, not because it discusses the nature of craft and craftsman, but because it emphasised the understanding and meaning of such activity and its existence *in* culture. I found this perspective relevant for several reasons. Firstly, because I will demonstrate two kinds of craft, differentiated by the performative context in which they are placed: one material – the musical instrument/*gajde*, and other intangible – *music craft* or the craft of music. Both could be considered a direct result of two conditions of one’s engagement –

⁵⁷ Some essential studies that have contributed to knowledge on traditional Serbian *gajde* construction are: Đorđević, 1926, Širola, 1937, Brömse, 1937, Dević, 1977, 1978, 1981, Vukosavljević, 1979, 1981, Gojković, 1989, Golemović, 1985, Zakić, 1993, Lajić-Mihajlović, 2000.

⁵⁸ One of the earliest studies to focus particularly on *gajde* construction was Đorđević’s *Skopske gajdardžije i njihovi muzički instrumenti* [*Gajde Craftsmen in Skoplje and Their Instruments*] (1926). This focused on a unique workshop in Macedonia (at that time usually considered to be South Serbia). In her study *Gajde in Vojvodina*, ethnomusicologist Danka Lajić-Mihajlović focuses on relations between music, sound and construction. She observes that “over time the number of *gajde* players [*gajdaš*] has declined as has the number of craftsmen. By the middle of the century the craft had died out. The last notable master-craftsman of *gajde* and pipes was Aleksandar – Acko Pejakov from Mokrin... A few years ago, a group of enthusiasts joined to form the Society for the Musical Cultivation of *Gusle* in Kikinda, creating *gajde* using the types of tools formerly used by the late master Acko. We tried to ascertain the sequence of manufacturing processes by scrutinizing museum specimens, preserved tools, the memories of older *gajde* players and the experiences of contemporary craftsmen” (2000:73).

knowledge and experience. The notions of the craft are deeply interconnected with the concepts of knowledge. One might think that the making of musical instrument could require more complex knowledge than the player/craftsmen could be aware of. To some extent, players/craftsmen show just the opposite. Many elements of such knowledge exists in their conscious practice, while practice is furthermore the result of “distancing”, a marginal manifestation of turn to knowledge from the Self. However, music craft is of course not automatisational but more habitual, a process which I tend to mark in trying to show the engagement of craft, the practical Self on one side and the instrument, a ligature of a man and his own music knowledge.

In order to make *gajde* on which he would perform music, a player had to have quite active knowledge of the manufacture process or skills of construction, and also an intrinsic and practical knowledge of nature. Being interwoven and related to nature in many aspects of life, it was not so hard a task to perform, at least as it might seem from a modern perspective. Since *making* was a part of their specific mode of life or habitus, a player knew exactly from what material his instrument should be made, as they also knew the order that would make the instrument become music-capable. As craftsmen are able to make certain objects, a player is supposed to be both craft-capable and further music-capable. Although craft and music were both inherited and learned processes, performers seemingly did not separate these two courses. Sennett assumes that although skills were transmitted from generation to generation they are surely not fixed (2009:26). Many performers expressed their musicality and interest in for the *gajde* since their childhood. Watching fathers, brothers and relatives or other notable community members playing *gajde* in fact encouraged them to become engaged with music. They did not have worries about learning to play, supposing that it would be naturally achieved. However, they acknowledged the emergence for a good instrument which certainly required other skills as well. As one player, Voja from Vranje district (Southern Serbia) said “all you need is a good *gajde*...*svirka* [music] will come out by itself”.⁵⁹ Since this particular instrument is very difficult to play without some sort of preparation, most of future *gajde* musicians practiced

⁵⁹ According to archive recording material: Vojislav Stanković – Voja, interview made in Belgrade by Rastko Jakovljević, 24.10.2009 (see notes on fieldwork materials).

their music skills on a melody pipe (chanter) called *gajdenica* (see Appendix). Working as a shepherd and being separated not just from their families, but from other people as well gave the extensive time to produce a musical instrument that would keep him company during his days. The life of a pastoralist gave them the time to contemplate music as well. Accordingly, Voja went to “serve” other people, to watch their sheep, which gave him enough time to become engaged with music. For five years of service, he got nice clothes and food for the work that he did. Surrounded by experienced *gajde* players in his family (his father and brothers) he desperately wanted to play. Initially he went to find some wheat in order to make an instrument that would satisfy his need at least temporary. Voja made a simple *piska* (wheat mouthpiece instrument), making one with holes and one without. As he described it: “I arranged them to be a *gajde*, playing on that as I kept my sheep. Now I have my *gajde*!” After a while, the need was extending and *piska* was simply not good enough. He went again to the woods to find some “strong wood” in order to make a real *gajdenica*. He possessed enormous knowledge of nature and was eventually able to find *jasen* (ash) or *šimšir* (boxwood), and not of any kind but a specific type – old and “male”, believing that “male *jasen* has small heartwood and the female much wider; a male tree is also more firm”. He learned how to take advantage of nature, how to marginalise its potential. After finding the correct material, he took a wooden awl to puncture a long hole along the branch that was carved and shaped with a knife. He still remembers how it was hard to find an appropriate material for a single reed, as he eventually remembered that his father made it from *baz* (elder). After drying the *baz* branch, he delicately removed the heartwood and cut one small part in the middle of the reed, and with one long cut made the blade, a strip that would freely vibrate.⁶⁰ A small piece of thread that tightly holds the

⁶⁰ Ethnomusicologist Petar Vukosavljević described in detail the same procedure on the *Svrljig* variant of *gajde*: “The pipers [his translation of *gajde* players] who are at the same time skilled craftsmen [sic] make the reeds from elder wood [sic]. The cutting of reeds for the future “reed pipes” is done in two stages. In the first stage, the wall of the pipe (stem) is cut with one slanting and one vertical precise cut at cca 5-6mm from the end, making a very shallow slit having the shape of a segment of circle, the secant of which is 5mm long, which will be the width of the future-beating reed. Thereafter, the wall of the pipe is cut vertically (by cca 20mm) downward from the spot where the secant of circle of 5mm has been made, thus making a narrow strip of wood. The strip is further scraped with a pocketknife or a piece of glass until its thickness reaches 0,2mm which represents a really delicate operation in such a primitive manual treatment of such fragile material as elder-wood” (1981:24-25). Although one can say that the procedure of making *Svrljig gajde* is the same as for other types (Banat, South-Morava variant and Vlachian *cărabă*) their difference in general could be classified in four categories: (i) *gajdenica* made from a double

vibrating part of the reed (the blade) would be very useful to adjust the intonation. For that reason many players believed the reed to be a special and most valuable part of the *gajde*, carefully making them and keeping them safe at all times.⁶¹ Next, Voja closed the other side with wax, placing a reed in the *gajdenica*, enveloping it with tow to fix and seal it. The most intriguing and maybe inconceivable part of the construction process is how playing holes on *gajdenica* are “opened”. As I noticed on Voja’s *gajde*, seven holes need to be made on the front and one at the back of the chanter. The third and seventh should be round, while the others are supposed to be made in more oval shape (Gojković, 1989:91). The positions of the holes were estimated approximately (visually) and much depended on the dimensions of the fingers. It was less typical that the players would use specific “measuring tools” (patterns) called *merka* for holes or openings (Đorđević, 1926:386; Dević, 1977:96). Golemović adds that the *cărabăș* Dimitrije Perić designated specific places for holes according to other already made *gajdenica* (1985:84). More obscurely, the literature also testifies that the players/craftsmen poses certain “silent” skills, evident audible and visual correspondence, measuring and opening each hole in relation to another. Examining the sound during this process, the craftsman thus connects the craft work to his musical experience (cf. Vukosavljević, 1981:16). Therefore, some examinations indicate that the openings were made as a product of an “irrational” procedure (Brömse, 1937), or “by hand” (Vukosavljević, 1981:16), meaning that it is a process of pure materialisation of musical knowledge or experience that normally wood carpenters or other craftsmen do not possess. Player/craftsman therefore conducted a “dialogue between concrete practices and thinking” (Sennett, 2009:9), a dialogue between construction and music experience that he obtained. Logically, the player’s craft ability would depend of his musical experience or musical

punctured piece wood on the three-voiced *gajde* (*Svrljig* and Banat variants) or single punctured on two-voiced *gajde* (*cărabă* and in South-Morava variants), (ii) number of holes could be eight – 7 on the front and one at the back (two-voiced *gajde*) or six – 5 on the right side of *gajdenica* and 1 on the left (three-voiced *gajde*), (iii) dimensions of the instrument (from smaller to bigger: *cărabă*, South-Morava, *Svrljig* and Banat variant) which correlates to the tonality, (iv) additional, local or individual constructional features that has no or minor influence on music capabilities of the instrument (i.e. ornaments, tuning tools etc.). See more in the Appendix and: Golemović, 1998:101-104; Dević, 1977:95-107; Vukosavljević, 1979).

⁶¹ In his paper on the Vlachian *cărabăș* Dimitrije Perić, Golemović adds that a “good reed is very hard to make, and since it is very sensitive it is easy to break. For that reason, *gajde* players keep their reeds as their greatest treasures” (1985:84). Some resources stress that players used to carry spare reeds around with them to prevent embarrassment should their instrument’s reed become damaged (Vukosavljević, 1981:39).

craft, which means that the technical quality of the instrument could absolutely influence music. However, the player/craftsman could make minor mistakes in the constructional process, which in most cases might be observed in unstable intonation of the performed music. For making slight corrections, players used wax, which provided intonation adjustments and enabled the instrument for playing, even if minor oversights had occurred in the hole-opening procedure. For that purpose, some *gajde* players (especially evident on Svrljig variant) used an eagle's claw or wild boar tusk for wax application and hence intonation adjustments. However, such procedures and natural devices were at the same time regarded as decorative elements and religious symbols, believing that a claw or tusk had apotropeic and imitational significance - that would protect the player from evil or that it would give him strength (Vukosavljević, 1981:38-39). In the smallest, seventh hole called *mramorka* Voja puts a bird's feather that comes out on eighth hole at the back, which is used with the thumb. Other *gajdardžija* from closer surrounding areas adds that *mramorka* was named according to the quality of tone that it produces "...it just murmurs, it doesn't give a loud voice" (Zakić, 1993:51, fn.191). Finishing the *gajdenica*, Voja at the end placed one specially processed curved piece of animal horn (ox) that would make the chanter more resonant.⁶² On the left side of the horn there is a small opening called *glasnik*, which improves the quality of the instrumental sound (Zakić, 1993). One more but much bigger pipe has to be made – the drone pipe called *prdaljka* in the areas where Voja used to live. Consisting of three, more or less equal parts with a bigger single reed inserted inside, it emits a continuous sound, two octaves below the initialis. *Gajdardžija* Voja likes the sound of the drone, as can be noticed in his performance. The next part of the *gajde* that had to be made was a skin reservoir called *mešina* which enables constant air insufflations. Voja claims that it could be made by local masters called *ćurčija* (leather craftsman) but that he preferred to do it himself. He and his brothers knew that the lamb's skin (lat. *cutis ovi*) must have a long neck because an exact part of the skin will be designed for placing the *gajdenica*. In the other, leg parts of the skin Voja would place the *prdaljka* and air inflation tube or blowpipe. This process is time-consuming, it requires particular knowledge of skin preparation and

⁶² Similar shape of *gajdenica* has found to be in use in Bulgarian Rhodope mountain area (cf. Atanasov, 2002:30-32; Levy, 1985).

conservation, just as it requires extended time to finish. Voja describes the procedure: “we wash the skin and shear the wool and then I make a mixture of *trice* [sawdust or bran], salt, and sour milk into a dough. Then I spread it on the skin on both sides, roll it up and leave it in a warm place for seven days”. After that period of time he takes the skin to wash and dry it, while he has already prepared the wooden parts that will hold the skin and other parts together. Those pieces were called *glavina* (the stocks). To make sure all is well, Voja sinks the *mešina* to a water tank and if it “boils” then the procedure has not been done properly. If the air remains in the *mešina* it means that the other parts can be installed. He still has to make some more parts. As a last piece of *gajde* he makes *duvaljka* (blowpipe) that is used for air insufflations into the *mešina*. It is a cylindrical wooden part, which has one small piece of leather (*zalipačka*) at the end inside, to prevent the air leaving the *mešina*. At last, connecting up carefully designed parts of the instrument, the process is complete and Voja has finally finished his *gajde*.

What is at first evident from the examined process is that the player should be equally regarded as a craftsman. He uses handwork and other crafts and skills in order to build the musical instrument. In such a process his musical knowledge and experience conducts and seemingly modifies his handwork, making strong influence on the final object so it becomes functional for music or performance. Then again, some of the procedures remained unsaid. They were shown, played and not entirely explained with words. Voja could verbalise his procedures on the whole, but for some elements he relies more on the visual or sonic results of his work. There is something in craft that cannot be explained with words. A virtue of *silent knowledge*. Sennett gives one illustrative example of what he presumes to be the secret of “tacit knowledge”: “Once the master dies, all the clues, moves, and insights he or she has gathered into the totality of the work cannot be reconstructed; there’s no way to ask him or her to make the tacit explicit [sic]” (2009:78). I believe that Voja made his instrument with knowledge that he obtained more or less tacitly, and that he would use it in the same manner without difficulties as such. He learned that the wood found in the forest could be significantly different in use, that the skin should be tanned in a specific way. Everything that shaped his action under such conditions was habitual experience turned to a crafted practice. However, as he came to the *gajdenica* and the

holes that he wanted to make, he started to visually demonstrate and explain with music more than he did before. Showing the holes, it seems that somehow he failed to express verbally the reasons why he made them in such a way, although he was aware of their significance in a practical sense. He silently added that the holes have to be properly “opened”, as he saw from his father. His explanations transferred the knowledge to me in the same way as he learned from his tutors. It seems that the clue points of the craft are *tacit knowledge* as Sennett assumed, defining that “much of the knowledge craftsmen possess is tacit knowledge – people know how to do something but they cannot put what they know into words” (2009:94). I realise that there are many reasons why Voja did not verbalise his procedures, as I knew also that it would still be a knowledge that is transferable. Coming to more musical factors of the construction process (holes), he excluded verbal explanation just as it was a part of his pure tacit knowledge, seemingly more “silent” than for other parts. The *gajdenica* was a music tool that he made, an embodiment of music itself. It was not learned with words, nevertheless it was transmitted. Therefore, he showed that even though he made objects, which could easily be separated into procedures of making, he chose to show the object and to play on it, yet not to tell. Experiencing the nature of Voja’s craft I have learned that his knowledge of making *gajde* could be transferable but that one must engage in the same process to find all the clues that were tacitly placed.

Plate 9.

South Morava variant of *gajde* (above) with collection of *gajdenica* (below).

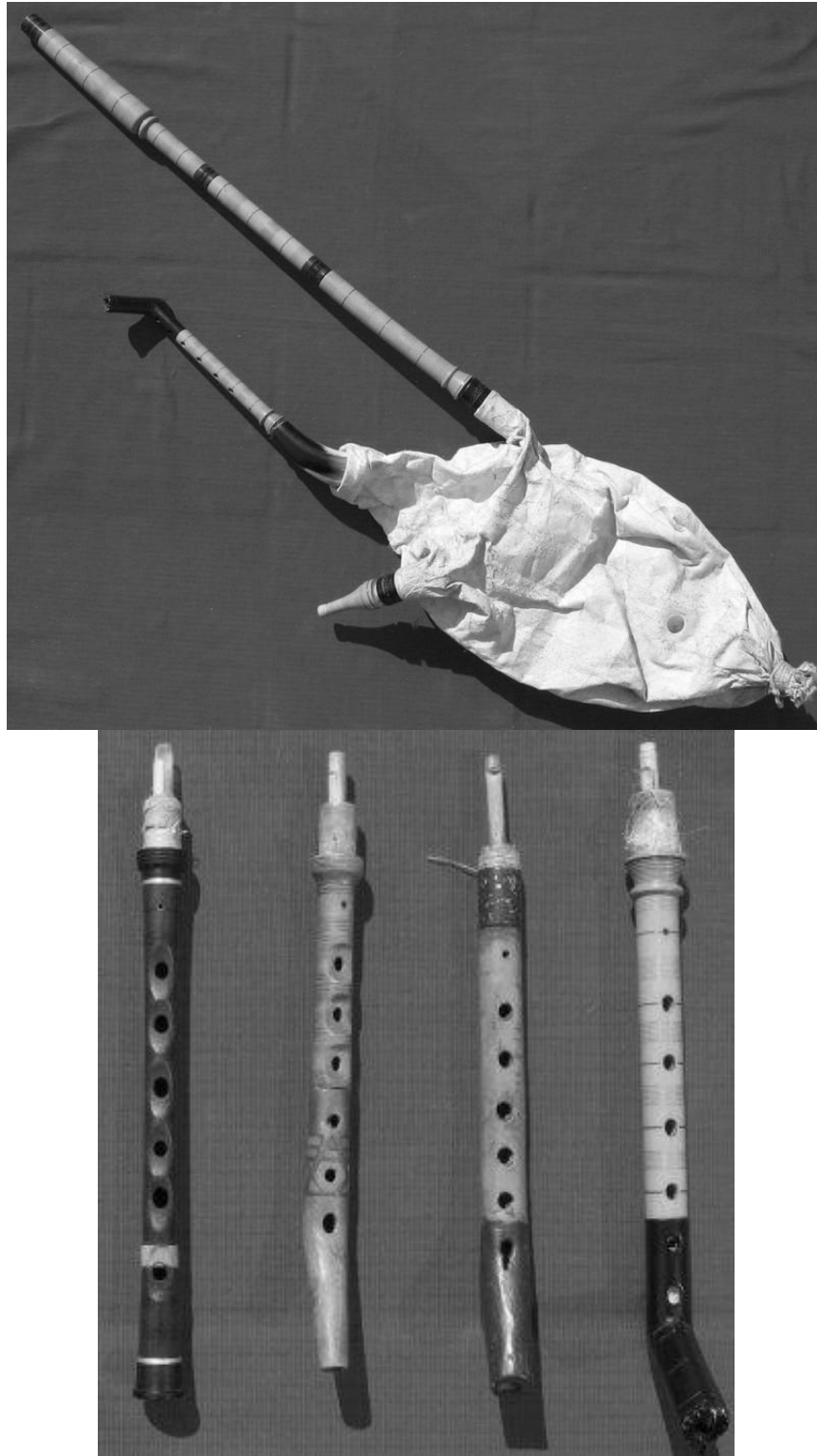


Plate 10.

The tools for wood processing and reeds (above) and elements for tuning *gajde* (bird's claws and boar's tusks below).



4.2 The Apprentice: Origins of Representation

The craft and skills essential to the process of construction in many respects match the processes of learning. Such a process is based on and involves experience and skills that are mostly not musical *per se*, but derived from the life script of traditional man and his cognitive system. For those and seemingly more reasons that have been mentioned before, players often see their practice as a skill rather than as an artistic form of communication as contemporary musicians could presume. More deeply, one can witness how players make music without separating those creative acts from any other life activities, meaning that music was organically interwoven into their lives. At this point, I wish to address certain issues of the learning process in the specific condition of craft work.

There were no known categories and no strict boundaries between the listeners (audience) and players as they all participated in the same practice, or were all engaged. Shifting from life experiences, a learning process also depends on these two engaged sides within music – nature and culture. However, it is also necessary to stress that the music is indeed shaped by further social investment and joint experience. A man could learn to play for his own self-indulgence, if deeply eager to engage in the social structure. This means that learning from gifted individuals was just not enough to become a good practitioner, as the player would learn a great deal from the context itself, from social needs and the response to his music. Therefore the learning process fundamentally relied on both private experience or natural impulse and public correspondence, which further shaped and developed specific music capacities within the culture. It also confirms that the fundamental features of music were both individual and collective virtues of this dichotomy. However, for such social feedback, a player had first to master the elements required for any skilful and sociable music practice. His learning path largely coincides with the hierarchy and stages of the training process of the Middle Ages which equated specific art and craft categories, and which further could be used to mark some crucial points of music skills development.

The learning process of *gajde* music understanding and performance mostly began in childhood. The knowledge was obtained and developed naturally and culturally. Music practice was always present in families or close relative groups, and widely very close to their public experience. This in fact facilitated the understanding of cultural as natural or perhaps made it more coherent. Society also reinforced the need of the individual to become engaged, to follow the tradition and to mark or to legitimise themselves in such society as authentic members of their local culture. Engagement implied first to be a good observer, listener and eventually to become involved in public performance, to be introduced to the society as a musician. Although society encouraged novices, they also perceived music-making as something more or less serious, a practice that carried a burden of commitment. However, as culture was learned, future players silently understood that the identity of instrumental performance was a reflection of social norms and gender stratifications in a given society. Future players inherited the conviction that men should be engaged with instrumental music practice much more than women, which who were predominantly socially oriented to vocal performance. However, they acknowledged also that music had to demonstrate a certain quality of performance, and that young players should first show their capabilities and talents in order to attract the interest of the others, and so to become able of accepting substantial and more directly obtained knowledge. For these reasons, some of the players initiated their engagement in solitude, while keeping sheep, as was already mentioned before. As one player stressed “I learned with the sheep” (Vidoje Stamenković, 1909, village of Tasković)⁶³ commencing that the learning required a lot of free time, patience and isolation, but also that this training process is a much more individual act than one might assume, or at least understand from the modern perspective. Because of difficult construction and segmented acquisition of tacit knowledge, younger players had to make their own instruments many of which were made and used as a sort of preparation tool, helpful for learning to play on *gajde* in the future. For those reasons, Voja made his small sound replica of *gajde* out of wheat (*piska*) which showed his great aspirations to engage and to understand that specific instrumental sound.

⁶³ According to archive recording material: Vidoje Stamenković, (b. 1909), Tasković, Zaplanje, recorded by Radmila Petrović, tr300.

Many other players like Voja at first tried to perform music that they remembered. Those were largely simple songs or tunes, which they happened to remember from listening to music performed in family circles, people's gatherings or music that was practiced on some other public occasions. The same songs that they were trying to reproduce on the *gajde* were often already learned before with active listening and even singing, so it seems that interconnections between two kinds of practical knowledge existed – vocal and instrumental music engaged in one cognitive process. However, memory played a great part in initial learning process, as it is also necessary to emphasise that the vocal preceded instrumental reproduction, thus executing a specific shift of musical knowledge. Since traditional players were not familiar with notation, recordings and were not even literate, many of them had to rely on memory and such specific shifts between vocal and instrumental music in order to access their own performance. They did not have proper education, but they had specific skills, intelligence and cultural knowledge, given from their life and/or music experience. There were no major obstacles to interconnect listening (including music memory), vocal reproduction and other inputs, as it was at final instance internally understood and inscribed naturally, and therefore more easily transferable. However, the learning process is of course not entirely shaped by individual experience. Although players were eager to engage individually, it is necessary to stress that there are also other participating instances in such a process. One of them was the society, which of course proved to be extremely influential. In the margins of many interviews made with *gajde* players one comes to the conclusion that the music depends greatly on individual and social engagement and investments practiced in both directions. The individual listens to, and watches other village players, observes the reactions, and needs of the villagers, of the society in which music is produced and interpreted. According to some players' early experiences, a boy needed to follow interpretation and techniques, musical types and forms but also to observe public reactions to such music. Therefore he learned not only how music is structured as a creative product, but also how it is socially influential or how music defines itself as authentic to the particular culture. Thus players also learned the process that Merriam (in correlation to Herskovits idea) defines as enculturation, "the process by which the individual learns his culture [...] a never-ending process continuing throughout the life span of the

individual” (1964:146). It means that in the learning processes of music and musicianship much depends on circling and shifting domains of engagement between individual and collective experiences, as it shifts between the private and public domain. Young players had many chances to witness public performance which could give him tacit knowledge, which might be practiced further in solitude. Therefore, throughout the learning process, a public experience becomes private and then returns to public again, as a sort of investment retrieval. The shift discussed here begins with players listening-watching activity, further shifts to the private learning process which was defined in general by repetition based on both memory and imitation, which in fact is one of the fundamental forms of the music learning process (cf. Merriam, 1964:146). If successful, as a result of such a sensitive process, it would return for verification in the public domain. Experiencing public performance, the novice was in the position to be silently engaged in the public domain (village gatherings, family surroundings etc.), and so further able to acquire such details and information that would be of use for practicing music in a more private setting. One player fundamentally explained that in order to learn how to play *gajde* one must “steal the craft”, adding that there is no interest whatsoever for anyone to teach how music is performed on this instrument. The same angle of interpretation Sennett sees and describes with shifting learning procedures between a master and his apprentice, concluding that “the apprentice is often expected to absorb the master’s lesson by osmosis; the master’s demonstration shows an act successfully performed, and the apprentice has to figure out what turned the key in the lock” (2009:181). It is the same in learning to play *gajde* – a master could play to his apprentice but he would rarely feel obliged to show what he was doing in detail, and even more likely demonstrate how he plays a music piece or its parts. Therefore, a novice had to find the key of a particular performance by simply observing and at first rely much more on the visual aspects of the audible phenomenon than music interpretation is. As most of older players remembered their beginnings “among sheep”, it seems that they were aware of the fact that music must be heard, memorised and practiced away from the public. It is also important to recall that the *gajde* is an instrument of so called “open space”, and that it was rarely used inside, which might be useful for the beginners. Therefore, most of young players practiced during the long hours in the fields. However, the

mechanism could also be oriented in a different manner. Timothy Rice, intrinsically marking and arguing a similar process, observed the shifts in Bulgarian vocal learning procedure where music “reached the public spaces where dances were held, and then became a matter of private repetition” (1994:58). Because of the strict social filtering, a player had to make sure that his music was well practiced and performed so it could be reproduced or returned to the public. From their stories, one can conclude that people were not very interested in listening to someone if he was not good enough. For those reasons young boys tried to build performance skills in private, to repeat tunes many times so they could later demonstrate to the people what they had learned. Therefore, skills of playing the *gajde* were learned but not taught (Rice, 1994:65). It was the same with most novices. As a young boy, one of them claimed that he used to listen to the *gajde* played by an older man in the village, observing closely his fingers on the *gajdenica* and absorbing the melody that the player used to perform. Afterwards he would run into the fields to try to “skim” the same melody line on *piska*, repeating it “for the whole day until [his] mouth was hurting”. A large number of former players indeed stress the importance of such extensive repetition, marking it as one of the main methods in skill acquisition. Sennett also believes that the key to a high-level skill is achieved through trained practice and persistent repetition (2009:37-39). Western music practice and training process also relies much on repetition, but it is also based on written materials or music scores as a guiding light in the process of learning a particular musical piece. In traditional terms, the apprentice musician forms his interpretation on something that he perceived aurally and visually. His visual input demonstrates technique as aural provides substantial information of the melody, rhythm and style of the performance or secondary parameters such as ornaments, articulation and dynamics. Although traditional musicians would not understand completely the division of those elements, they are very aware of the fact that something is relevant or that something might be missing out from the interpretation. In most of cases such qualifications could be related to melody when a player claims that “it’s not that *arija* [melody]”, rhythm or style (especially ornaments), but they are also conscious of the fact that the instrument should be tuned properly. However, to be able to acquire skilful interpretation, one has to be an extremely good listener or to have already developed life skills in order to “steal the craft”.

Almost every member of the older generation in Serbia describes the learning process as everything that is not instructional but what rather needs to be learned “by stealing”. As a native I was particularly interested to understand what is relevant to this phrase and concluded that people use it to define every skill, practice and procedure which should be acknowledged by “unconventional” methods, such as quality assessment of a wood piece that my grandfather used to carve parts of his fishing boat or discrete cooking secrets that my grandmother tried to transfer to her daughters. A huge number of other crafts and virtues will only support the fact that some parts of our knowledge is in fact related and much depending on other skills and former tacit knowledge experience, and that much of the information were obtained almost instinctively, as is also the case for *gajde* players and their music practice. In terms of traditional folk music pedagogy there are not many musicians who would have the capacities and terminology (or even the patience) to teach somebody to play the *gajde* in the manner that “school” musicians would learn. Let us recall the words that Voja used to describe this point – he had to “steal” from his father, so he could learn to play and to understand what kind of music he actually aspired to perform. He was not exceptional in that. Especially in the early phases of the learning process many beginners tried to explain how they had to develop skills of non-verbal acquisition, and seemingly by instinct to understand the distinctive elements such as time organisation (or rhythm in one musical piece), melodic movement, tuning etc. All done in order to become able to acquire any other substantial knowledge in the future and in general to demonstrate their commitment and interest. Therefore, initial learning, and to some extent, even progress depended on their motivation to engage which was sensitive to osmosis, and the individual analytical capacities of one’s cognitive apparatus to absorb and to memorise such complex musical input. Moreover, one had to arm oneself with patience and strength to master the music “materials” without any guidance or help. This may seem a rather complex procedure from the modern perspective, but for traditional musicians it was a logical and justifiable process in the maturation of a *gajde* skilful player.

The next step in the process of the engagement was to be introduced to society as a prospective (if not yet skilful) musician. Only then would the novice be regarded as a serious candidate and his social environment would recognise his engagement and provide deserving attention. Most of the young players at first found understanding from their parents and close relatives for their engagement. After all, as one *gajdar* told me, people used to know which boy is predestined to be a player much because of his origins, as a member of a “*gajdar* lineage”, describing it as it was a case of some royal origins and inheritance. In eastern parts of Serbia indeed there were a large number of relatives that used to play *gajde* in one family. One *gajdar*, Gavriilo Milosavljević (b. 1896 in Čitluk) was highly valued in the society for his expertise of playing this instrument.⁶⁴ His repertoire was extremely large and the performance was obviously masterful. It was also a proof of the player’s need to collect as many tunes as he could, which others also emphasised to be a qualification factor of a good player. Listening to his music one could closely observe his waved melodics, precise rhythmical distribution, delicate tuning and moderate usage of ornaments and notice that he was quite a skilful *gajdar*. It seems that he surely knows a lot. Furthermore, I was surprised with his repertoire, which consisted of rare ritual music (specific wedding tunes for bride’s initiation, *putnička svirka*) and less frequent but skilfully performed dances. His musicianship was patrilineal, just as Gavriilo obviously transferred the craft on his son Miodrag (1926), meaning that they were all members of one *gajdar* lineage. Although his son Miodrag’s performance was presumably related by style to what his father used to nurture, his repertoire was overwhelmed with popular dances such as *polomka*, *srbijanka* or *devla*, with no traces of any ritual music pieces at all. From the recordings, interviews and music performed one could not easily work out what had led to such difference. Nevertheless, I will heuristically try to follow possible reasons that might be significant for this discussion. First, Miodrag might be more focused on dances because such forms were used generally for entertainment. Therefore, he respected the authority of an older player or a father, and at the same time respecting the style of father’s performance, a representation that would be more plausible and traditional than it would be in his own

⁶⁴ According to archive recording material: Gavriilo and Miodrag Milosavljevic (father and son), (b. 1896), Čitluk, Blendija (Mužinac), recorded by Ana Matović, 1974, tr261.

interpretation. On the other side, what I found more likely, although it does not exclude the former is that his social setting at that time was rather more oriented to dances than ritual music, and his father probably had not played ritual tunes for a long time, so his son could not learn them either patrilineally, or from other *gajdars*, since they were not dominant in his society. This case could show that either he expressed his traditionally learned respect for elders or that his learning process, music knowledge or knowledge of music in fact equally depended on people's needs, and reflected the actualities of a particular social setting as such. What a *gajdar* did not hear in public, he would not persist to learn or perform. He would not be able to share something that was not immanent to his musical experience. It seems that the learning process, which in this specific case reflects on the repertoire, is connected to the learner's exposure to a particular music, and that certainly one must be surrounded with the same music in a sustainable context to be able to learn and disseminate music further. Although his father might remember the tunes that he used to play before, it was certainly not enough to transfer them to his son because *gajde* music was not learned in such a manner, so the son was unable to hear and learn the ritual music. Unfortunately, large numbers of recordings and interviews show that some forms of wedding music have eroded and that they now exist only in the memories of the oldest players such as Gavriilo, or in areas where the modernity appeared and penetrated more slowly (compare ex. 14 and 15).

Besides patrilineal and silent transfer of the craft, for one player it was essential to follow a hierarchy that was not transparent, but was surely a present factor in one's musicianship. In childhood they used to "serve" among sheep with other boys that were engaged with music as well. Often they referred to them as "colleagues" in work as shepherds, but also because of those connections that they used to share as apprentices in music. Although they used to play for amusement, boys realised that being a skilful musician in the village could bring both social and economic benefit to them. What is necessary to stress is that the young players were much more eager to share melodies that they used to "steal" on some occasion, which had its effects on the individual and therefore collective repertoire which began to expand. The repertoire was expanded by listening to other players in the village and was further enriched by those who travelled throughout the country to work, which gave them the opportunity to experience

other regional types of this instrument and specific styles of music performance. For example, in the south of Serbia people used to travel to Bulgaria or Macedonia (FYROM), to work in the fields, just as Bulgarians and Macedonians came to Serbia bringing their music(s) with them. One cultural space still did not preclude the existence of many microstylistic differences which served to expand the repertoire. Performers from the south greatly enjoyed music on different types of instrument and styles of performance which resulted in forms of dances called *bugarka* (Bulgarian woman), *vlajinja* (Vlachian girl) etc. In sum, frequent local and more or less constant migrations enriched the local repertoires while for players themselves it gave the opportunity to acquire new knowledge of music. Many players remember that they used to observe the “work of the fingers” of Bulgarian or Macedonian players, but they also concluded that almost every player, no matter of what place, had his own technique of playing. They were sure that “you can’t find the same two players [performance] even in one village”. This was their individual or microstylistic feature. However, one can be aware of the similarities between two players, especially if one of them learned from the other. To many of them, older players were regarded as a valuable source of information, repertoire or technique, and they treated them with great respect, not just because of their music skills but because they were respected by other people and because they were simply generational authorities. Such a hierarchy was followed at all times. *Gajdar* Voja Milosavljević (1934, village of Dobrujevac)⁶⁵ remembered how he started to play *svirajče* (small pipe) as a young boy until he heard the old *gajdars* Jeremija and woodsman Ljuba playing on the *gajde* (see fn.63). He was impressed and fascinated with their music and one can distinguish the awe and respect that he uses for such notable players. He learned to tune the instrument⁶⁶ while he stressed that what they done “with their fingers” one could learn more by listening – “from watching you don’t get anything”.

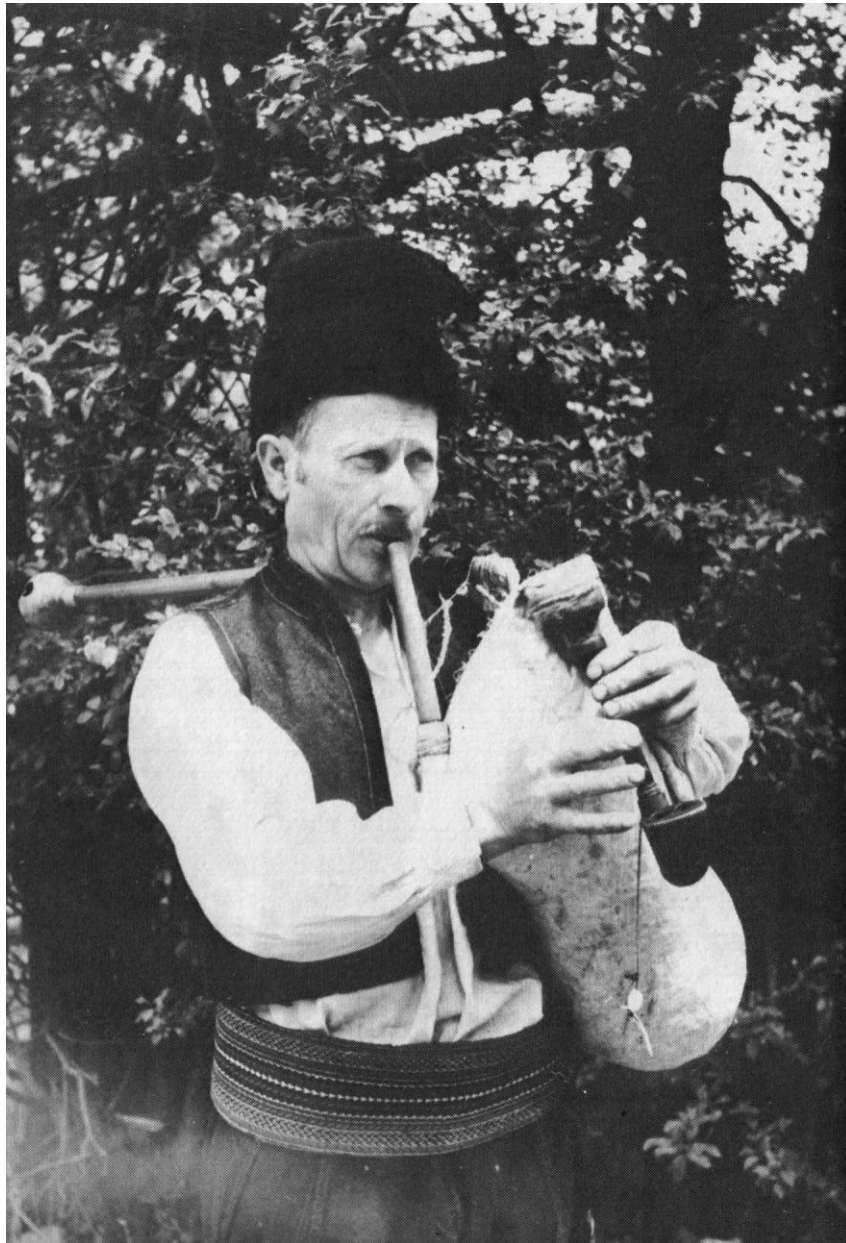
⁶⁵ According to archive recording materials: Voja Milosavljević, Dobrujevac, recorded by Ana Matović, 1974, tr497, and Voja Milosavljević, Rujište (Boljevac), 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, tr85 (1).

⁶⁶ *Gajde* could be tuned in several ways: i) Adjusting the drone (*prdak*) by pulling its parts slightly up or down, ii) by moving the thread on the reed or by reed moisturising (influence on the qualities of the tone), and by adjustments according to second part (ostinato pipe) of the *gajdenica* if three-voiced type of instrument is being tuned iii) wax adjustments made on *gajdenica* also influence on instrument tuning quality. In the procedure player also audit the harmony between drone and fifth tone of the scale (dominant). Tone that the player produce by uncovering four holes from above (two-voiced) or covering all holes (three-voiced) should be exact to the two octaves distanced tone resounding on the drone pipe. Further, the player could optionally check the sound of other tones.

As older players like Jeremija and Ljuba gradually started to play less often, the younger generation of players occupied their place, which was certainly a natural process. However, the younger players did not try to deny the skills and former triumphs of the former generation. On the contrary, former players were treated with dignity and respect not just by young players, but also the entire community. If an older performer wanted to share his music in public, young players and society would give him full attention, just as they used to in years gone by. As one player claims “their skills should be respected and learned from”. Visible hierarchy and care for others was always (and to some extent still is) reaffirmed in the life of people that live in Serbian villages. On the other side, competitive spirit was also present and significant, but one’s musical skills were always evaluated in certain age categories, which coincided with the skill levels of the player. Every aspect of this hierarchy showed that players had formed a sort of guild that appreciated authorities, stages in development and perhaps silently controlled production, precisely reacting to performances that were not appropriate to their local musical standards, marking such “error” simply with the words - “that is not good!”. Although they might not use specific terms to describe such levelling, it seems that the performers firmly adhered to the division of players by expertise or knowledge that they in fact possessed. They knew when one performance was good and when it was not. However, in some sense they were socially obliged to differentiate beginners (mostly of young age), a difference between those who still have to learn, and those who have mastered the skills. People were also conscious of the fact that the skills could be “inherited”, that someone came from families (*gajdar* lineage) which used to raise players. Especially if their fathers were already proven to be skilful they were treated with special attention, but also certain expectations. Although one would not receive direct instruction how to play the instrument, they were constantly exposed to the sound of the instrument, specific style of performance, repertoire and context and therefore possibilities to acquire particular knowledge.

Plate 11.

Voja Milosavljević, *gajdar* from the village of Dobrujevac (Boljevac).



4.2.1 Acquiring the Expressive Tools for the Craft

In this chapter, as an additional perspective on craft work, I wish to raise an issue of the expressive elements of *gajde* music. From conversations with players, it seems that nobody could give lessons on what we define as the performance expressiveness. For one it seems expected and natural. It is more likely to say that the expression is in fact inherited or that the style of music performance could be tacitly learned from local practice or specific tradition in which people lived and with which they identified. Instrumental practice was intertwined with vocal and those two kinds of musical experience affected each other in aspects of style and expression. Unfortunately or maybe not, performers were not able to verbalise and segment the music form in such a manner to explain all that one song, tune or a dance consisted of. Players would rather discuss usual forms than the music content that they used to (per)form. From the perspectives of a western educated musician, limited terminology, which deals with issues of expression or stylistic features, could show more general classification of elements in traditional music, in two basic and broad categories such as melody and rhythm. Accordingly, characteristics of metrical distribution, ornamentation or articulation could be examined as something that “makes” the melody or rhythm in their own terms and their means of understanding. Instead of making strict classifications, traditional musicians were more comfortable in explaining the practical notions and purposes of one musical element, which was formed in their performance, and it seems to contribute to broad understandings of musical expression or elements that a particular performance style consisted of. To a large extent, all distinctions were highly variable and depended on a particular case and therefore seemed highly subjective. Traditional musicians might further consider features that do not even fall under the same category, which substantially might make difficulties for anyone who wants to deal with aspects of performance, and confuse those who were educated as school-trained musicians. For example, for one player a melody could be described as a song (form), melodic model (*arija*), but also it could be used as a term that would describe specific ornamentation, used in music performance. For others it might be of seemingly different

meaning. Some elements of the melody could be defined through elements that in fact might neutralise our understanding of the boundaries between melody and rhythm. Scholars or trained musicians might be confused with such explanations and could require further clarifications which the traditional musician is unlikely to provide, at least in the expected manner. It might even cause further misunderstandings. For those reasons, one must be fully aware in one claim – that explanations of the expression particularities are seemingly arbitrary, that they are individual and shaped by the overall (musical) experience of the performer.

A tune, a melody is very often conceptualised in relations to rhythmical patterns of one particular music form. As with other aspects of performance, it could not be easily isolated and defined. Some forms of *kolo* (dance), tunes e.g. *čačak* or *logovac*, could be played using different melodic models or simply melodies that some of the players define as *arija*. While *kolo* could be played with many different melodies, performers usually have the ability to recognise and “classify” a specific *kolo* by its characteristic rhythm, which coincides with dance movements. With rhythm and melody people might detect types or forms of music such as *kolo* or a song, and they could also relate to the specific performance style of the particular interpreter or even discern certain regional music idioms. Traditionally, a subject could “read” from sound, melody, rhythm or many things such as – does that form originate from a certain village (local music experience and expression) or does it resemble to some local musician’s style that they are familiar with (individual expression). On the other hand, it seems that while the rhythm affects forms of music more, the melody signifies largely to its particular content. However, rhythm and melody could not be detached from each other, as it is one whole of music *per se*, which is also especially stressed by performers. What one could search under specifics of particular expression actually means to become aware of the fundamentals on relationships between melody and rhythm in boundaries of one performance. On all types of *gajde* some parameters of musical form, or precisely its content such as articulation, dynamics, ornamentation or even specific patterns like ostinato (on Svrljig and Banat variant) or drones are the areas on which the music expression could be transparently observed at large.

The plainest expressive tools of *gajde* music performance are vibratos and trills. While they affect on the quality of the specific tone, they could be significant to expressivity as elements of a certain music habitus or sensibilities that the players usually related to tone “warmness”. Vibratos could be used on every tone that is being produced on *gajde*. Often performers use them discretely and selectively, and much on so-called longer tones. For some players certain positions on *gajdenica* or holes like *mramorka* might be particularly suitable for creating vibratos. Others could use specific griffs to produce tone vibrations. With opening and closing the smallest hole on *gajdenica* player produce semitones that with rapid, but again delicately smooth moves of the finger causes a vibrato to become “warm”. Slavko Cvetković from Lebane⁶⁷ gently tried to explain how the smallest hole on *gajdenica*, in his village known as *mramorka* should “fit with everything”. What he actually tried to explain is that *mramorka* must be tuned accordingly, but that it also have the effects on the tone qualities of the melody, as he use it to produce vibrato. For him the vibrato was “fitting” just as it sounded tuned. What he added is that it gives the melody the opportunity to be sensed, to “breathe” or simply to be played “with soul” (fig. 11).

Figure 11.

Vibrato expressive tool



With less speed of the forefinger players also managed to produce specific longer and less delicate vibratos, what educated musicians recognise as trill. Such ornamentation or tone articulation was typically used on tones that are durable – from crotchet to longer values, with sliding and smooth performed tone alternations. Very similar to classical music cadenzas, those trills often segmented the music form. One should not exclude the possibility that the

⁶⁷ According to archive recording material: Slavko Cvetković, Lebane, fieldwork recordings by Rastko Jakovljević, 1-2. 08. 2010 (see notes on fieldwork materials).

traditional musician is in fact conscious of those functional reasons as they were using longer tones and coloured them with trills to make music ending signals more audible. Although players from all regions of Serbia use it in their music performances, trills were especially significant for Vlachian music practice, and they possibly use it to imitate specific expressive tools of the correlative vocal performances (fig. 12).

Figure 12.

Trill expressive tool



Unlike “warming” qualities of the tone, there are certain expressive tools that gives a unique mark to *gajde* music performance in traditions of Serbia or the Balkans. Above the main melody line performers are producing high pitched tones in forms of ornaments. Characteristic echoing ornaments on the highest tone are the result of back hole opening against which *mramorka* is located. Some scholars like Béla Bartók used the term “clucking sounds” to describe and specify the qualities of those tones (Bartók, 1978:77,91), while a great number of researchers tried to focus more on structural features of the particular type of ornamentation (Džimrevski, Golemović, Zakić, Rice, Levy, Atanasov etc.). As Vuylsteke remarked before, such unique ornamentation is indeed one of the most distinctive features of the Balkan bagpipe tradition. While performing the “main” melody players produce almost simultaneous “clucking” tones that cause a latent effect of the presence of another melodic layer. With opening and closing the back hole, this specific ornamentation also forms a rhythmicised drone-like layer, which is a part of or attached to, and at the same time independent element of the main melodic line. It is interesting that those tones were differentiated from melody by players who claim that it makes a certain *rhythm*. One player described such perspective, stressing on the difference between three-voiced Svrlijig *gajde* and two-voiced South Morava variant. He realised that Svrlijig *gajde* had different *gajdenica*, crafted of two pipes in one wood piece, and that one is

meant for melody while the other was used for constant changes of two pitches – ostinato. Ostinato gives a sort of accompaniment to the melodic and drone line, thus forming a three-part music texture (fig. 13).

Types of ostinato

His point was that “Svrljig *gajde* and ours [two-voiced *gajde* – R.J.] don’t sound the same at all. They have *gajdenica* which gives them rhythm and melody, and I have to give both through one pipe” (Slobodan Dimitrijević, Tasković). Therefore he actually thought that the ostinato is producing rhythm, while he used “clucking” tones to provide supportive or constructive rhythmical pulse which used as an accompaniment to his melody. Many players from other regions also support the claims of previously described shifting conceptualisations between what is rhythmical and what is melodic of expressive tools in one performance. Furthermore, some of them could precisely detect general presence and significance in relations to the genre. One of those players explicitly added that the “last finger [ostinato] gives melody when played in song, while it can give rhythm if you play *kolo*” (Bokan Stanković, Lasovo)⁶⁸ (compare ex. 16 and 17). Therefore, it was essential for them to emphasise the differentiation or the domination of one factor that shifts significance, depending on whether one performs a song or a dance. It seemed that the players were usually convinced that pitch values of ostinato could be easily abstracted, giving the full significance to the rhythmical potentials of specific changing tones.

While linear, melodic thinking was essential to song's performance, many performers thought that dances were fundamentally based in a specific rhythm. On the other hand, players expressed the need for special forms of accompaniment for their instrument. For that reason they used to perform their *kolo's* with *gočobija* (performers on large drums), which was especially popular in southern parts of the country, and which was probably influenced by the Ottoman culture. Rhythm seemed to be able to show great emergence for the sense of collectiveness within their music-making process. If they have not had *gočobija* to make music "pulse" more intensive, they would invent it through music that they used to perform. For the same reasons players on *duduk* (large pipe) used to produce specific guttural sounds while performing melody, and that particular effect gave them a sound illusion of collective music-making (ex. 18). One *duduk* player explained that he added rhythmical guttural sounds in order that it should feel "like I have a drummer accompanying me" (Golemović, 1998:88). With different means, but seemingly exact motivation, *gajde* players used ostinato to establish intensive rhythmisation and to generate sound effects of collectively-performed music. However, players were also skilful in making other sound illusions in attempt to bridge certain limitation of the instrument. As an instrument *gajde* could produce one type of articulation – *legato*, and players move "from note to note", gradually opening and closing the holes on *gajdenica* one by one. Therefore, the repetition of the same tone could not be produced without placing some ornament between two same tones. In certain music forms such as songs, exact kind of articulation like *legato* seemed to be entirely in correlation with narrative capacities of the appropriated form. For other types of music i.e. dances players required other means of articulation, which were used by skilful performers. Certainly, knowledge of specific forms of articulation also signified the quality of one performance. Since they could not naturally produce detached articulation in regular manner, players used to simulate minimum tone separations by uncovering the fourth hole from above (South Morava variant or *čarāba*), or by producing the lowest tone on (Svrljig and Banat variant) *gajdenica*.⁶⁹ Because such tones

⁶⁹ The same expressive tool was observed by Timothy Rice explaining that "player closes the sounding hole slightly before opening the next hole to omit a faint low-pitched sound that functions like tonguing. (This effect is called a "crossing noise" in Scottish bagpiping and is considered an undesirable error)." (1994:77-78)

are in fact the same one produced by a drone, only in two octaves distance, it causes the effect of audible neutralisation of the performed tone on *gajdenica*. Therefore, the particular tone could not easily be perceived as “existing”, and because of specific sound illusion it causes the listener to hear the melodic moves of seemingly detached tones, although they in fact are still performed in *legato* articulation (fig. 14). Vukosavljević adds that this specific “phenomenon is not an illusion but the correlation between the quality of the instrument and its performer” (1981:48). A different view could be more focused on the result as a consequence of the specific interpolation of the lowest tones in order to produce non-*legato* performance, *tenuto*, *portato* or even *staccato* (Lajić-Mihajlović, 2000:91). The result is barely audible but it could be more transparent by means of detailed transcription, or by closer observation of the performers’ finger movements. In spite of the great potentials of such specific expressive tool, players do not use detached articulation frequently, but they are familiar with it and aware of the fact that every highly skilful player should know how to produce non-*legato* articulation.

Figure 14.

Detached (non-legato) articulation



However, there are certain expressive tools that are the result of *gajde* particular nature, but also some that derived from practical usage of the instrument or its construction. From most related species of Serbian instruments, *gajde* in general differ by its long pipe known as *prdaljka* or *prdak*. It produces durational, continuous and fundamental tone that serves as pivoting sonic element of the performed music. The drone takes an important role in the tuning procedures as well because the sound of *gajdenica* is always approximated with single tone produced with a drone. With simplicity and homogeneity, it also contrasts to the more filigree profile of ornamented melody on *gajdenica*. Further, its usage depends on circumstances such as whether *gajde* are being used inside, meaning that the player is likely to omit, or in open space,

outside where the drone gives full capacities of rich instrumental sound. However, even if in some occasions, it is not required; still it carries the meaning and significance for both players and listeners. This expressive element also has other properties that are in many ways in conjunction with the musical genre. Players could omit using the drone if they perform dances, especially if they should play music for a long time. This specific marginalisation of the expressive tools therefore happens for a practical reason. Some *gajde* were just hard to play or not easy to supply with enough air. With twisting the skin, players could decrease air consumption and therefore facilitate effective performance in long time periods. What they should not do or what players would consider to be a “bad manner” is to play wedding songs, *putnička svirka* or some other ritual music without it. One can observe that there could be a significant difference between official parts of the weddings, where the player must use the drone while after, in parts where people dance, enjoy and entertain players do not have the “obligation” to use it at all times. Seemingly, the drone had one more relevant feature – to response to the aesthetic or religious needs for continuous sound, which was one of the imperatives in ritual performances, as it was discussed before. The sound must not be broken and the drone had an important task in particular belief, just as it was an essential part of specific music communication where the duration made the message seems to last in space and time and therefore inscribe in people’s memory. The significance of the drone at last corresponds to musical dialect of the entire area of the central Balkans (Zakić, 1993:130) where vocal and instrumental music expression primarily arises from an archetypal presence and importance of one monolithic tone duration in all its appearances and possible combinations. The drone contributes to duration, harmony, expression, authority, not directly “played” but still equally listened to. Some expressive tools, as the drone is are present but not indicative in the same manner. However, there are some sides of expressivity that would not fall under the same category. Musical form could even be discussed as an expressive tool, which is not organised by the same mental procedures. Distinguishing plans and expressivities mentioned before has showed to be significant for specific constructions of musical form, which will be discussed later.

4.3 The Journeyman: Deformed Time Representation

Among other aspects, crafted music performance also indicates the distinctions that arise from the relations between musical form and its content. In general, music performance is after all an expressive realisation of engagement and craft abilities of a performer. Furthermore, expression is articulated with a form or on the other side a form could be regarded as a result of expressive articulation. In many ways, players are aware of the form and therefore its articulation. Performers possess the ability to distinct a song, a tune or a dance. They also realise that their music comprises of elements that are mostly connected with expression tools such as melodic models, ostinato etc. which gives them certain *arija*, “rhythm” or probably something different. However, for some aspects of their craft experience they could not engage in all capacities and connections between expression, form and content. Forms such as dances in players experience are based on a clear knowledge of how the musical form actually works, how is being structured. However, for different logical genres or musical forms as *putnička svirka* some difficulties may occur. Those obstacles might result from the contextual nature or individual experience of particular music, which happens on the borders of a song, a tune or a dance. The focus of this chapter stresses the importance of the improvisation on *gajde* as one of the main aspects of traditional music performative categories. It also further develops the concept of craft work following specific formal aspects of certain improvisational music products.

Putnička svirka is a specific music genre whose structure concept shifts from improvisation to more fixed formal solutions. Performers agree on the fact that not all players know how to play it. Furthermore, not all players could categorise their performance as *putnička svirka* although they in fact perform it. Finally, not all music theoreticians know how to analyse such music. Substantial concern was always present when discussion raised questions on improvisation, not because one could not track all processes of such organisation but because the improvisation is a product of individual engagement *with* music. Other question may arise from the true nature of exact performance – is improvisation really improvisational or it is composed to some

extent? Nettl asserts that whether improvisation and composition are opposed concepts, “one spontaneous, the other calculated [...] we are also given to believe that improvisation is a type of composition” (1974:4). He also adds that “the juxtaposing of composition and improvisation as fundamentally different is false, and that the two are instead part of the same idea” (Ibid. p.6). I do also believe that the improvisation is in fact a composition in “real time”, or to be precise compositional process achieved by immediate music form realisation. At this point, it is essential to stress on the dimensions of *putnička svirka*, not just because it is improvisational, but because it can reveal the nature of improvisational experience on one formal scale. What every traditional musician knows is that those kind of music genres as *putnička svirka* is, are “musics” performed “on the road”, meaning that it is some kind of journey or travel music as their name also confirms. There are several practical reasons for making such distinct form of music. One is that the player used to perform it for pure self-indulgence, personal entertainment or simply to “shorten the time” that they spent in travel. For the same purpose *gajde* players used to perform same forms of *svirka* while keeping sheep, but it is interesting to point that the context gave them enough time to practice and experiment *with* music in solitude. In particular situation they would name it *ovčarska svirka* (shepherd’s tune), but it would still be the same tune that players could use to perform “on the road”. However, during the wedding ceremony *putnička svirka* should be performed on the road to bride’s house, to announce the arrival of the nuptials. Players frequently associate this particular form with important life occasions like weddings, something highly important for people. Although *putnička* could be “classified” according to the context, it is still vague what kind of form it is in fact. One player explained that *putnička svirka* is “when you play something on the road, with joy”, alluding that he performed it during the wedding ceremony, and that music was emotionally experienced as joyful by the people. It is interesting that whether he could distinguish the form and associate it with its related context, he failed to describe how he performed it exactly, what he precisely did to make the form. Was it “from the heart” or precomposed, or maybe it could be a combination of both. In a particular case it was just “something”, as it was defined in the same manner by other traditional musicians. In those attempts players tried to describe that one has to make music either from pure instinct or from

particular idea/s, but seemingly to make “compositional decisions at the moment of performance” as Solis specified improvisational music experience (2009:1). Substantial interest in improvisation could lead to a broader understanding of this highly critical and complex musical phenomenon. One of the primal qualifications of improvisation is that it could be considered intuitive, spontaneous or music which is on many levels subordinated to the individual experience (Peycheva, 2005). Opinions of ethnomusicologists on exact matters may vary from those who consider improvisation as an aleatorical process where “musicians are not fully in control of that which comes out of the music” (Campbell, 2009:122 after Blacking) to those who regarded improvisation as a result of many pre-acquired elements and substantial understandings of their ordering. Again, the question of music learning arises. *Gajde* players are more likely to believe that the music itself could not be learned, which certainly applies to improvisation. One of them heard his *svirka* by listening to an older player from the village, but as he added “you must hear it, but also you have to add something of your own. Songs are hard to play, *kolo* you just go with the same, but this is learned slowly”. At this point, it is evident that while one could not learn to perform *putnička svirka*, or more precisely for someone to teach how it is being played, performers realise that it may require substantial musical practice, which would then grow into a skill. Another question could be raised at this point. Is *putnička svirka* then entirely improvisational if it was learned or prehended by repetition or practice? While for some it is an experience of practicing particular piece of nonmensural music (*putnička* as a form), other players might see *putnička svirka* as a more improvisational manner of musical expression (*putnička* as an expression) describing that “on the road you pluck something out, whatever gets into your mind”. However, there are qualitative differences between performance “from the heart” and music constructed of accidentally placed elements such as motifs, parts or phrases etc., which nobody could claim is not made “from heart”, or at least sometimes made in an improvisational manner. More likely, the improvisation is an arbitrary form of musical expression that is modelled under the strong influence of the performer’s musical knowledge, expertise and immediate inspiration above all. Its differentiation slides from previously adopted musical knowledge or pre-experienced elements to music that is directly created on the spot. However, there are many points of influence that profile

improvisation, such as tradition, individual skill, social needs etc. Analysing the improvisational experiences of the Arab *taqāsīm* Ali Jihad Racy asserts that “the special significance of improvisation centres around the musical substance, the individual artist, the community, and life in general” (2000:304). *Putnička* or *čobanska svirka* and similar genres were once widely spread in *gajde* musical practice, especially in Southern Serbia. Most older musicians that remembered more than one performance of *svirka* defined the activity as an individual music making process, which is close to improvisation. Although their tunes combine elements of the familiar with new elements, *the process was improvisational*, it was ordered on site and in most cases was not learned from others. Therefore, a player had to be a skilful individual in order to make the form work in a certain manner, which could resemble any other *putnička*, but at the same time be different. Players use their musical experience, memory and their specific individual crafting abilities in order to make appropriate music. Same features of improvisational skills have been pointed out in Nettl’s research, stating that it is “important for the musician to know that the improvisation is central to the performance and merely accompanied by a retinue of precomposed and memorised material. In another, that improvisation is a craft outshone by a true art of precomposition” (2009:186). What seems to be very difficult is to define improvisation as entirely a product of chance. I argue that orally transmitted, or maybe music in general is always improvisational to some extent. Every folk music performance indeed depends on the exact moment in which music is being structured and for those reasons, it is always subjected to inspiration and mostly to the skills of the particular performer. Although *putnička* might be precomposed and even fixed, it is still improvisational in initial point of adoption, which would then be remodelled in the course of performance. However, one must also be sure that improvisation is entirely a subjective matter. It may vary from performer to performer, as it could be differently perceived by the ear of the listeners and their cultural background. For example, for Serbian music experience *putnička* sounds improvisational with no doubt, whereas, for some other traditions that are more experienced with improvisations it could seem “too arranged” to be considered as such. Yet, what seems evident is that every improvisational act or form uses some referential or “prescribed” (Rice, 2004:53) elements that supports the mechanism of order. In *putnička svirka*

form, one can observe how knowledge articulates all processes of structuring. In definitions of knowledge analysis, Foucault developed theoretical prepositions of ordering, arranging knowledge of order in two general types: complex *taxinomia* and more “calculable” orderings of *mathesis* (1966). He asserts that “when dealing with the ordering of simple natures, one has recourse to a mathesis, of which the universal method is algebra. When dealing with the ordering of complex natures (representations in general, as they are given in experience), one has to constitute a taxinomia, and to do that one has to establish a system of signs” (Ibid. pp. 79-80). However, as Foucault explained, mathesis and taxinomia are not opposing sides and he pointed out that mathesis could be regarded as a particular case of taxinomia (Ibid. p. 80). Although his idea covers a broad field of knowledge, it could also be transposed on a smaller area to simply follow the ideas of ordering of local knowledge structures like the constituents and segments of music performance. To some extent forms performed by *gajde* musicians really resemble cases of particular organisation, classifying forms made of orderings of complex and of more quantitative natures. Orderings are in fact those comprehensible arrangements of elements that are not produced on the same logical level. One element could be produced as almost mechanical development of a given music idea, while others could significantly be attached to their specific purposes such as music stanzas, intonation, transitions, closures etc. Making a form therefore could be followed on two basic levels – one that establishes and develops a musical idea under particular mechanism (mathesis), and one that might acquire substantial creative and practical knowledge, making pivoting points of the musical form and combining with specific knowledge of forming music (taxinomia). The description of taxinomia and mathesis should be directed by closer observation of the referential elements that are structured in performances of improvisational *putnička svirka*’s. The form of *ovčarska svirka*⁷⁰ (ex. 19, fig. 15) performed by Atanas Živković (Leskovac)⁷¹ is an improvisation based on interpolation of two main segments, blended in one monolithic musical form. On a larger scale, the improvisational principle could be subjected to taxinomia. What is essential to stress is that

⁷⁰ There appear to be no discernible musical differences between *ovčarska svirka* and *putnička svirka*. However, *putnička svirka* appears to be a broader category encompassing material that can be played in more varied contexts. It is hard to ascertain whether *ovčarska svirka* is a form of *putnička* or a separate genre.

⁷¹ According to archive recording: Atanas Živković, Leskovac, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1977, tr294.

all *gajde* music improvisations are naturally (sic) performed in non-mensural, *rubato* rhythmic distribution. The reasons for that are maybe because such distribution could give a specific time or space for complex, on-site ordering or “thinking what to do next”, while it also shapes a tune in a more meditative manner of expression. Also, being metreless means that the performer has his own time to create and organise materials in his own fashion. Racy came to the same conclusion analysing similar forms of Arab music, while asserting that “the taqasim genre is particularly significant because it is textless and essentially metreless, and ‘tuneless’ – in other words, unbound by a fixed composition” (2009:317). In this case, metreless organisation indeed opens a space for improvisation. The *svirka* begins with an intense high-pitched tone after which the basic tone firmly follows. It is a typical initial formula by which the player is checking if the instrument is tuned properly, and at the same time is being used to “sound” the space – to listen to how the sound is spreading. Therefore, this small locutional point serves as a taxinomic “sign” of ordering, of correspondence between tuning actions and music performance situated in this process. However, the achieved basic tone (g^1) is a durable position where the player actually prepares for the next segment of his performance, where the main material is introduced. In this particular example the player exposes or confronts short blocks of materials which are more or less related or, to be precise, more or less interdependent. The first material (**A**) is in fact a shorter version of the following block, truncated of the first ascending semiquaver movement (e-flat/f/g/b-flat). At this point, the music-making process has been diverted on the tracks of simple nature ordering or mathesis. Segment **B** is built by frequently used “clucking” tones, which produces contrast and distinction between two materials. Using prolonged tones, similar to the Vlachian *recto tono*, taxinomia ordering takes over, with distinctive trills that actually facilitate the division between segments, and opens a space for further simple orderings. In the third appearance of the **A** material, the player fragments it into smaller parts (marked **a**), while giving prolonged tone f^1 shortly after. The form “ends” with secondary material, while he gives the ending signal with a last tone a^1 that becomes a taxonomic sign of closure or closing formula. It is significant to observe how modes of ordering shifts from structures that are organised in relations to what they produce, what kind of meanings do they create (beginnings, endings, transitions), and to further

differentiate them from the orderings of blocks that are structured by certain mechanism of interpolation and inner segmentation (fig. 16). Orderings are in fact the strategies of every improvisational performance as the player chooses what he tends to create in a specific musical time frame. In one moment, he wants to draw attention, to initialise his performance or to mark the end, while in another he creates the internal dynamics of the form while developing the main materials by specific remodelling procedures.

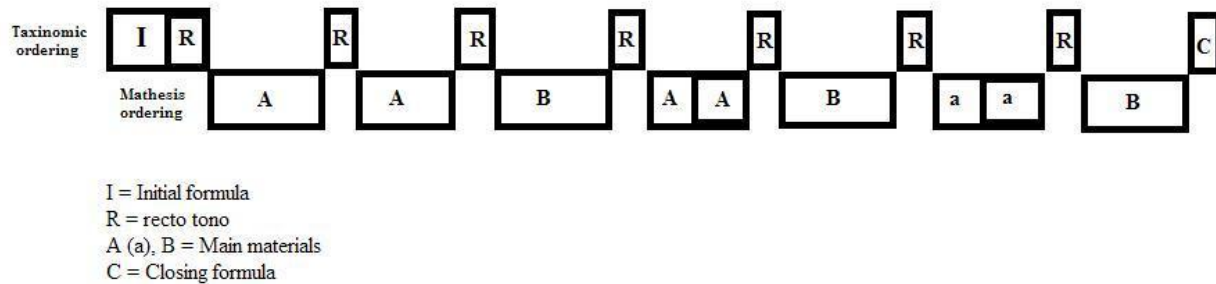
Figure 15.

Ovčarska svirka



Figure 16.

Ordering/Taxinomia of *ovčarska svirka*



Indeed, within boundaries of this specific genre/form *ovčarska svirka* has showed all fundamental features of a particular form of *gajde* music improvisation. Therefore this form is experienced by others/listeners as a result of a skilful musical performance. Musicians were appreciated for such expertise and recognised by their improvisations, by their composing (ordering) skills or by particular *putnička* or *ovčarska svirka*. Soon the musicians began to play those tunes not only while keeping sheep or at weddings. Players pointed out that this kind of music could be performed on other occasions such as during harvests, *uz astal* (along the table) where “you don’t play *kolo*, you play it just like that...a tune, everybody has one of his tunes”. This led to a gradual understanding and organising of *putnička* or *ovčarska svirka* as more fixed musical form. Players began to practice their initially improvised tunes to express their specific performance style, their skills, and to sound more sure in what they were performing. Somehow, this practice was a first sign of individualism in traditional music tradition. The craft was fixed and improvisation became a practiced music experience, a solid and differently organised form of performance. Paradoxically, it also shifted from self-oriented, personal, intimate experience of music into more public conditions. In light of those changes and for those reasons *putnička svirka* became more attached to the individual. Players improvised music until they were satisfied with the result and afterwards practised it until it was perfect to their standards. With certain characteristics of personal style a crafting product – *putnička svirka* became a “makers mark” (Sennett, 2008:134) of the individual performer and his craft

work, rather than a result of a skill in a collective sense. Although there were no changes in contextual plans or orderings, the act of making shifted from an immediate to a more mediate process. As makers had their own *putnička*, it is interesting that the players seemed more focused on the form or context than on the content. When he was asked to compare some other *putnička* different from his, one player stressed “That's all the same!” (Voja Stanković).⁷² It sounded quite different, and one could be sure that he was aware of that fact, but still convinced that both performances were the same in his understanding. Some other players also felt that all *gajde* players actually perform the same *putnička*, while on the other hand they supposed that every player has his own. For them, the “sameness” would mean that they practically all do the same, all playing the same type of music – despite many individual differences of performance it was regarded as the same form of musical expression. On the other hand players were usually proud of their skilful masterpiece and they performed it on almost every occasion when they had the chance to do so. However, in regions like Banat or Eastern Serbia (three-voiced *gajde*) improvisational capabilities or even fixed improvisation seemed distant to their musical knowledge. In these parts of the country, players used specific songs to accompany their journey. Songs were treated and named in the same manner as *putnička svirka* and they had well-marked improvisational character as well. Probably most evident features shared with their southern relative forms were non-mensural rhythmical distribution, which was also immanent to transformations of all migrated songs in *gajde* performances, as was pointed out before. The second common thing was its purpose and identification as music *po putu* (“on the road”). Yet, what absolutely changed the course and distanced them from *putnička* lays in certain ordering potentials. The structure did not consist of significant compositional impulses, and the form was more or less subjected to the structural foundations of the song's textual component. According to Rice, in the improvisational character of song-derived forms, the interludes to a song showed how Bulgarian *gaida* players used to perform melodic lines but in a freer form, varying song melodies “because they were not required to match them to a text” (1994:104). It also seems that the Serbian players often

⁷² According to archive recording material: Vojislav Stanković – Voja, interview made in Belgrade by Rastko Jakovljević, 24.10.2009 (see notes on fieldwork materials).

used songs to establish improvisation. Marking a song's melodic line with further approximation of rhythmical values in fact induced or produced improvisational character. Metreless distribution again proved to be very efficient in providing certain freedom necessary for music improvisation. Although it was in fact the performance of a song, only called *putnička*, the qualitative differentiation of dance tunes, which are in strict, mensural rhythmical distribution gave the apparent or illusive effect of improvisational performance. Therefore, if one could not resemble the exact song now performed on *gajde*, it would not differentiate improvisation *putnička* from a song derived music performance. There is also the possibility that players could use entire songs or parts of them as inspirational material for their improvised forms. Discussing the nature of specific genre in these parts of Serbia one could be aware only of two things: (i) *putnička* is a non-mensural music form differing from other genres such as dances, but not of songs played on the *gajde*, and (ii) it is entirely or partly based on improvisation. Maybe because of such complexity people gradually used to pay more attention to dances or songs, while *putnička svirka* became rare. People started to feel more attracted to dances, tunes that could easily be memorised, "listeners wanted to hear recognizable tunes" (Rice, 1994:109), while *putnička* could not be understood in a particular way, it was far too complex to remember. In addition, it was perceived as somehow more personal, transitional and marginal music than socially marked music practice like dances. Nobody would or could sing to such *svirka*, just as most of people would not recognise that "something" had been performed at all. It was an integrative part of the soundscape, a music in the background. At that point, *putnička svirka* as an autonomous form started to erode.

Gajde players became more recognisable by involvement in dance performances in order to fulfil social and personal needs. While it gave them more popularity, it was also a mark of a silent change and of a more practical relationship towards traditional music and culture itself. Improvisation was no longer treated, as perhaps it should have been. People evaluated skilled performance, however now they focused on measuring performers' competence according to his capabilities to accompany dances that people enjoyed so much, than to cover all genres of traditional music. While players were evidently willing to meet people's needs, they were also

persistent in keeping their improvised *putnička*. This lasted at least for some time. Probably the most lucrative way to perform now marginalised *putnička* in public was to integrate it into the dominant dance form. I consider that the players did that for several reasons. Firstly, meditative *putnička* were still a hallmark of a player's identity – with such music, he could still demonstrate his compositional potential, his skilful performance or his artistry. He could also show the variety of genres that he possessed. Secondly, he could use *putnička* at the beginning of his performance in order to acquire the attention of the dancers, but also to establish a proper intonation on the instrument – to facilitate tuning before he would start playing *kolo*. Resembling Arabic or Middle Eastern *taqsim* improvisation, *putnička* became a music form that introduced the sound, the pitch and the player itself to their listeners. The difference is that *putnička* was not performed merely to demonstrate the improvisational skills of the performers. It contrasted with the hectic and rhythmically “organised” dance forms. On the other hand, due to features of three-voiced *gajde* and pertinent ostinato that followed the melodic line, made it almost impossible for players to make significant large arched, non-mensural lines. Therefore, *putnička svirka* on Svrlijig variant of *gajde* might vary from partial *rubato* to distributive – *giusto* performance which is mainly the result of ostinato that suppresses the capacity of *rubato* performance. However, the two-voiced *gajde* (in the south) are more capable of performing music in meditative manner, which correlates to the organological features of the instrument type. In that case, the sense of time is amorphous. The deformational time of improvisation was in conflict with the solid time of dances. However, *putnička* eventually started to be more understood as an introduction to dances, to be qualified as an integrated part of it, more than as autonomous musical piece. Dances were too dominant and attractive to people and improvisation naturally fell under shadows of people's impressions with *kolo*. On the other side, players used *putnička* at the beginning of one block of dances meaning that it was not repeated afterwards. More often they used the improvised form in order to tune the instrument, to introduce the sound, and after that they would play large numbers of different dances. Accordingly, players and listeners gave more attention to the dance repertoire and began to forget how to make, perform and listen to *putnička*. What they used to preserve is a memory of a once practiced form of music. As one of players puts

“*gajdardžija* can play it alone or it can be played before the *kolo*...it could be made from song or tune, but it needs to be practiced. Once I knew how to play *putnička*, but I’ve forgotten” (Bora Momčilović, village of Džep).⁷³ The genre itself gradually became less transparent and seemingly more marginal in people’s experience(s) of music. Clearly one of the most prominent examples of gradual loss of forms, which encouraged improvisation, could be observed in *gajde* music practice of the Serbian players in eastern Serbia and in Vojvodina. As mentioned before, the concept of absolute improvisation was never immanent to people’s music experience. In Vojvodina *gajde* players would not often use long and complex introductions but rather short intonative-correctional and signal music segments (Lajić Mihajlović, 2000:116-117). As for travel tunes, players instead used songs to perform “on the road”. Although the true nature of the piece was related to the migrated song’s identity, it was still a form that supported extensive inflows of improvisation. However, most performers cannot seem to recall when the last *putnička* was actually performed in their village for the last time. In eastern Serbia performers knew that it was practised by “old players” while the details of such music phenomena were not entirely clear, as it was not a part of their experience and therefore not present in their knowledge. More or less accurately speaking, they were only able to detect that one could use a song to make an introduction to a dance tune, but it still seemed quite arbitrary. Instead of improvising, before they started to perform a dance tune, players in Eastern Serbia typically inserted a very short music segment, used only to test the sound of their instrument and to initiate music performance (fig. 17, ex. 15). As a result, the introduction resembled more inarticulate noise than something that could be understood as the form of music.

Figure 17.

Introduction on the Svrljig *gajde*



⁷³ According to archive recording material: Bora Momčilović, Garinje-Džep, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr288.

From the entire range of capacities of the specific improvisational introduction, only the initial formula remained. The pulsating rhythm of the *kolo* and the substitutional song made people lose their understanding and need for any sophisticated improvisation or meditative music forms. Marginalised forms such as *putnička* were not considered communicative enough and therefore they predominantly remained in the memories of older players and older generations. Improvisational knowledge faded and experience gradually changed, while players on the other side found particular interest in performing dance music forms, which in many ways proliferated the practice of *gajde* music in Serbia.

Plate 12.

A player on Svrlijig *gajde*. Photographed by Dragoslav Dević.



4.4 The Master: Defined Structure Representation

One of the most important features of being engaged with music was to achieve certain performance skills in order to appear in public, and thus to acquire a special position within society. It could be argued that one of the player's objectives was to become more socially transparent, marked and above all noticed. Significant interest and engagement subsequently led to a stage in which the player was introduced to the condition in which he became a master of music, a master of ceremonies or a master of social events. This chapter points to the aspects of skilful music performance, with the particular focus on the formal aspects of dance performance.

In Serbian traditional culture there was no better way to become engaged into public activities than to become a part of dance events. What generally lies in the nature of Serbian people is to (eat), dance and entertain. There is one typical expression which people use in various situations, stating that one needs only "bread and dances" in order to ensure the quality of life. The season of dancing lasted until fall. People danced on many "life" occasions – seasonal and specific ritual events, dance events in the village centres, individual (familial) and collective (communal) patron saints' days called *slava*, in the churchyards, village centres, on weddings, birthdays etc. For example, in the first half of the 20th century *gajde* players were tied to public dance performances, typically situated at the village centres. Players remembered easily how they used to enjoy public appearances and perform for large numbers of people that participated in such occasions, which were for that reason named *sabor* – gatherings or assemblies of people. The largest *sabor*'s were held in Kosovo and Metohija, during Easter holydays where huge numbers of people gathered to socialise, eat, dance, and entertain with numerous competitive games (see more in Janković, 1934; 1937). In discussions on Serbian dances Robert Leibman draws a conclusion on the distinctions between dances that were performed on private occasions, such as weddings, and those which bore the mark of public activities "held in its entirety at some public spot" (1992:98). In addition, in the second half of 20th century the substantial expansion of *kafana* (local bar) influenced traditional folk music

practice, leading to more private setting in which people enjoyed music and dance. One of the most notable *gajdaš* in Vojvodina, Mirko Francuski (b.1923)⁷⁴ pointed out that there were three *kafana*'s in Kikinda, where people gathered to socialise, dance and listen to music. To some extent, *kafana* started to become what one could define as a place for socialising. However, it has not threatened other places for traditional gathering. Rather it supplemented already existing culture and places. Moreover, private setting influenced the expansion of the repertoire. Mirko Francuski performed so called *okretne igre*⁷⁵ in *kafana* while he also played an older repertoire at weddings and dance events held at the village centre. As was mentioned before, dance had a significant role in funeral rites as well, especially visible in Vlachian communities (cf. Vasić, 1997). Normally, dances are not merely entertaining products but also “aesthetic structures and performative processes” (Citro & Cerletti, 2009:141). Although Serbian dances have primarily utilitarian and entertaining function, people also dance in order to express themselves in creative ways of course. For that reason, a skilful dancer was appreciated and valued just as good musicians – as a craft-capable person. In addition, dance performance is not entirely collective as it encourages stylistic shaping of the individual, which further determine dance as “a vehicle of self-expression” (Kealiinohomoku, 2008:50). However, dance and music are a “key resource for realizing personal and collective identities” (Turino, 1999:221), being especially convenient for experiencing culture that people used to nurture. Observing dance potentials also implies certain perspectives of cultural articulation, social behaviour and ordering that such practice could support. However, the performance itself significantly coincides with reflections of people's ideas of order and meanings, visible in a social structured activity like dance. For people dance and music were not just made for fun, but used as a specific social ordering and significant filtering device. People use dance events to gather, to strengthen the collectiveness of one community. At first glance, the collectiveness could be noticed in the forms of dances, which are predominantly shaped in semi-circles or chain forms of *kolo*. Partially or entirely round shaped dance formation, with dancers holding

⁷⁴ Mirko Francuski - Bacojka, recorded by Dimitrije Golemović, 17. 02. 1978, reel-tape Kikinda I, private collection.

⁷⁵ *Okretne igre* (turn dances) is a dance category that belongs to so called *pair dances* or dancing in pairs (Rakočević, 2011:199) which is rather different from the dominant vernacular dancing form – chain dance or *kolo*.

each other with bare hands reveal people's mutual relationships, their closeness and overall their collectiveness. Paradoxically, in dance performance Serbian people acted as "team workers" much more than in everyday life. On the other side, dance could be more significant to individuals as well. If someone was supposed to be introduced into the society, to become culturally articulated he/she had to become engaged in some of distinctive practices of the public life. "Tradition required everyone to dance" (Mladenović, 1973:166) and society was opened for every person to become engaged, either as a player or as a dancer. Furthermore, dances were important for articulation of individual social behaviour. Powerful social conventions placed certain rules of behaviour in the public. Regulations that existed in dance events epitomised generational, gender, creative and many other distinctions among people. It was also a platform of transparent proclamation of someone's intentions and status. Young girls were introduced in *kolo* as a sign that they were ready to become someone's wife or simply that they were sexually mature, which further defines dance event as a rite of passage or a sort of vernacular advertisement. As a kind of specific social articulation device, dance revealed norms evident in respect between generations – of young to older people the most, following the significance of older people as more experienced and skilful in dancing but in society or life as well. Rice conceived the exact relationship in the process of Bulgarian *horo* (same as *kolo* in Serbia), asserting that "As in so many other domains, older people controlled younger people at the *horo*, demanding that style and repertoire be replicated appropriately and rather exactly in each performance" (1994:139). The young dancers indeed watched and acquired tacit knowledge, just as players were "stealing" the craft from more experienced performers. Shifting again to individual perspectives, under the same principles people paid attention and respected players as social figures – authorities. This is much because players were individual figures of some dance event while the dancers established one collective performing body. The only nuanced figure among dancers that could equally stand beside player in those terms was the gifted individual that led *kolo*. Selena Rakočević argues that "As anywhere in Serbia, *kolo* was performed almost exclusively in the form of an open chain dance with the first dancer in order – *kolo* leader – in the prominent role" (Rakočević, 2008:107). Articulating the place of the player in dance formation Rakočević later adds:

...for the bagpipe practice the positioning of the player in the centre of the dance formation in circle or semi-circle, as seen in realistic painting of Uroš Predić named *Serbian kolo*, made at the end of 19th century...This practice, according to famous bagpipers Mirko Francuski and Čeda Ognjanov, recorded in the 1990s, has been preserved in all cases of bagpipers dance accompaniment. (my trans.) (Rakočević, 2011:91).

However, one of the first significant details of such prominent figures in dance event was argued by Janković sisters (the pioneers of Serbian ethnochoreology), and they picturesquely explained the relations between dancers or dance leaders and players:

People dance what *kolovođa* [*kolo* leader] wants...He could lead the entire sequence of dances one after another and conduct with the players. When the dancers are good, the players perform variations. If not the players perform as they wish. Sava Tunjaković, one of the best dancers from Gnjilane, in 1939 points out: *When the good dancer is dancing the players play better. When I hear playing from afar I know who is dancing, a good or bad dancer* (my trans. – emphasis added) (Janković, 1964:10-11).

While such choreocentric interpretation gives primary significance to the dance factors, it is important to stress that the players indeed valued skilful dancers because only then music performance became challenging for everyone. Many players claimed that there is no dance music if the village does not have good dancers. *Gajdardžija* Slavko Cvetković⁷⁶ remembered that before the Second World War he used to play at *sabor* and Easter for three days continuously because the dancers were particularly good. However, the spatial position of players in *kolo* could additionally argue a distinct centrality that is already distinguished by their individualism. Although dance leader is also prominent, *kolo* was performed around *gajde* player. While dancers in *kolo* were usually taking contours of semi-circle or circle, the player took place inside the formation that gave him a central spatial position. Of course, authorities were of special importance and in many ways, *gajde* players occupied central place. Their significance in dance performances was largely derived from specific creative (music) – figurative powers that they invested or employed in this process. Power was gained by performing music on the *gajde* but also by playing *with* music on this instrument. The potential to play *with* music is indeed the creative nucleus for music performance, especially significant for improvisational tunes, but as a principle evidently applicable to dances as well. The

⁷⁶ According to archive recording material: Slavko Cvetković, Lebane, fieldwork recordings by Rastko Jakovljević, 1-2. 08. 2010 (see notes on fieldwork materials).

repertoire and specific dances that were performed in one event depended on many factors i.e. particular wishes and responses to music of the people or skills of the performers (both musicians and dancers). Those factors could affect music or dance directly. If a player “hits the target”, assess the dancers’ taste with a right dance and a good music performance, people would respond properly and it could affect on the dance intensity, velocity or dance music structure (progression, specific motif prefigurations etc.). Player would perform a particular dance with constant variations on the main motif, so the dance duration itself could be affected, thus it might be prolonged respectively. Instrumentalists then played *with* music more than they would play music, but again not to the same extent, or in the same manner as it was done in essentially improvisational *svirka*. Therefore, secluded aspects of power were hidden in the fact that players evidently influenced and articulated dance forms through music. The expressivity of player influenced dancers to attempt to “feel” the music and to transfer such arouse into new expression materialised by movement. One expressivity initialised the other, and the process shifted again in chain reactions between players and dancers. This was a special knowledge that *gajde* players knew how to use, and to what dancers knew how to respond as it was one of effects of their specific dancing knowledge. Furthermore, such knowledge could be independent of music or rather instinctive dance expression; as Vasić claims “The only thing that matters is that his [dancers’] natural, perhaps innate rhythmic pulse harmonises with the rhythm of the sound he perceives, whether the sound is produced by stamping of feet, by various objects, or by melody, played or sung” (2003:561). More close to the point, arguing on the notions of specific “dance knowledge” Laslo Felföldi asserts that it “comprises not only the pure ‘know-how’ (grammar and compositional rules, that is how to compose a dance), but the knowledge of dancing (how to behave as a dancer at a dance event), and the knowledge about dance (ideologies, opinions, memories, evaluations, and so on)” (2007:163). From dance perspectives, knowledge therefore influences specific styles of performance (“grammar” rules), patterns of behaviour in public and enunciative forms of knowledge as Bhabha prescribes. As a result of this complex relationship between music and dance, in a particular process there are two general layers of knowledge ordering: (i) visual – kinaesthetic and (ii) auditive/sonic – musical. However, both layers are structured principally in

quantitative logic – movement as a response to music, following rhythmical distribution and music etc. – with the specific logic of mathesis, which will be considered. Bearing this in mind, it implies that a dance performance is profiled with constant shifts between significations “produced” by dancers and musicians.⁷⁷ Because of this, a dance significantly belongs to orderings of a more complex nature or taxinomia. As a result, the taxinomia is then formed of two mathesis orderings. There are no qualitative differences between dance and music ordering principles, and therefore there is no prevalence of one or the other. Although the initial stimulus was produced with music, it was strengthened with dance so the equilibrium could be established. The balance that exists also prevents constant changes of music or dance structure. In a broader sense Marcia Herndon pointed that, “music systems tend to seek balance and to resist change. It is the seeking of balance that constitutes the dynamic process of musical equilibrium” (1987:457). Additionally, the ordered result has in fact created somewhere *in-beyond* those two disparities or homologues that prevents the dominance of one or substantial influence that could cause radical changes in other domain. Therefore, dance performance is interspersed with individual capacities of the players and collective impulses of the dancers’ action, and only in such mutual coordination and influence the stability could remain preserved. Again, in a dance performance *gajde* players were not the most important instance, and the “space” of influence is shared between player(s) and dancers, or more widely its spectators. Somehow instrumentalists were placed in the centre of the activity, they are highly influential, but still not entirely dominant. For this reason the player have a dual role of a central and cooperative figure in dance performative process. From the perspectives of performance, under such conditions, the craft represents the empirical product made at the margins of two knowledge domains.

Going further in analysis of the specific *gajde* practice in Serbia, the questions of dance repertoire arise. There is a minor possibility that one could list all the dances that have been played on this instrument during long and vivid history. Large number of dances were also a consequence of the creativity of players, since performed dances were the core of their

⁷⁷ However, it is clear that the primary difference in interpretation or orientation could depend on the doctrine, on whether a dance is being observed from perspectives of ethnomusicology or ethnochoreology.

repertoire, but some of them were also inclined to “compose” new ones. After a while, if people enjoyed it, it would become a part of the local repertoire. The main dance repertoire was different in all areas where *gajde* were played. For example, in Banat the *gajdaš* had to know how to perform *malo* or *veliko kolo* (small or large kolo),⁷⁸ in Eastern Serbia the *gajdar* would perform *rumenka*, *orlovka*, *polomka* or *katanka*, while Vlachs would play *ora de patru* (kolo in four), *stara vlaina*, or any *starovremsko* (“old time”) kolo that would people recognise under generic name *bătrânească*. On the south of the country several dances as *vlasinka*, *bugarka* were always present in the repertoire of *gajdardžija*, and among others probably the most popular was a dance called *čačak*. Every good *gajdardžija* knew at least two local types of *čačak*. Before the Second World War *gajde* players had to know many dances in order to play for a long period of time, even for several days in some cases. Only a good and skilful player would perform his dances without repeating any of them and, it seems that people used to respect those qualities. Second issue that concerns dance performances raise questions of combining them in a real-time dancing process. Again, only skilled performers knew how to do it properly. At the beginning usually they would play *putnička svirka* (two-voiced), a song or a initial sound signal (three-voiced *gajde*) to tune the instrument and to attract attention of the people, after which the cycle of dances called *splet* (a combination, “knitted” performance) would follow. The length of every dance varied as the *splet* itself, because it depended on the relations between dancers and player’s wishes or knowledge to arouse/respond to the dancers’ sensibility and skills. Players largely formed the dance sequences in respect to rhythm, in order to easily “bind” them to the previous dance rhythmical pattern. This could be observed only in live performances of dances. It certainly depended on the players know-how or overall musical knowledge. The “binding” method players often defined with descriptive term *sliveno*, meaning that the music must be “flown together” so that the real change could be subtle, and more

⁷⁸ The oldest recordings of Serbian dances in Banat (Sarafalva village, today Romanian part of Banat) were made and later transcribed by Béla Bartók in 1912 as mentioned in the Introduction. It is at the same time the oldest sound material of Serbian *gajde* music since the first recorders were obtained in 1923. In his collection there are several Serbian dances: *malo* and *veliko kolo*, *banatsko kolo*, *seljančica*, *srpski mađarik*, and two songs performed on *gajde* (*melodie d’un chant*). See more in: Bartók, Béla – Albert B. Lord (ed. Benjamin Suchof), *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs and Instrumental Pieces from the Milman Parry Collection*, Yugoslav Folk Music, New York, State University of New York Press, 1978.

importantly, felt *as natural*. Again, this performative method was naturally associated with music experience or as the remains of a “magical” cyclicity that was one of the prerogatives of ritual music practice in the past (§3.1.3). However, the dynamism of the dance event could be followed on a smaller scale, inside one single dance form. Every dance has its own logic, structure and dynamism and, according to players, it was an important value of every good, skilful master of the instrument. Once again, details of such verbalisation of musical phenomena in their experience lie in the domains of tacit knowledge.

An aspect of music dynamism includes a consideration of musical expression. However, how does a *gajde* player dynamise his dance tune? In order to give even a slight insight into this feature, one has to follow delicate details that people traditionally easily recognised. It has already been pointed out that in Eastern Serbia *gajdar* consider ostinato “accompaniment” to be distinctive and extremely important. The limitations of two different tones produced on the second part of the chanter (*rog* – en. the horn) could be obsolete in dance performances. While the older style of performance, especially preserved in wedding tunes, indicates the application of continuous equally rhythmicised ostinato in note values such as quavers, in dances players use much wider range of rhythmical figures. “Beating on *rog*”, as players in the Svrlijig area described the hectic dotted rhythmical figures, displays two features: (i) that the player is aware of the difference between genres (ritual or old style performance – *knowledge of music*), and (ii) that he knows how to dynamise the form (music skill or specific *musical knowledge*). One player claimed that on *gajde* one must know how to turn the dance, *preokrene* (turn; turn upside down) or nobody would react to his music with the same arousal that directly affects movement intensity, and even influenced delicate improvisational potentials among the dancers. Hence, dancers appreciated such skill and expected of any good player to know how to make “the turn” or to *preokrene* the dance. In Banat area players rarely used dotted rhythm in their performances. Changing two notes with the same rhythm (in quavers, crotchet or minims) somehow showed that music corresponded to the people’s “unhurried” mentality and character or even wide plains of their environment. However, creative players always used the instrument to arouse people with music and to show their expertise. Bartók also noted this

distinctive expressive tool, which could be followed in his transcription of *banatsko kolo* (fig. 18, ex. 20). The example shows that the dance begins with a succession of minims in the *rog* layer after which the rhythm gradually becomes more dotted, shifting from one dotted figure to a different one, and in the last section delayed to minims again.⁷⁹

Plate 13.

Wedding in Banat, Cserépalja, (Crepaja, Vojvodina) Torontál megye, before 1920. Jankó János felvétele, no. F 345, Photocollection of the Ethnographic Museum in Budapest.



⁷⁹ In this transcription Bartók makes two general lapses. One is that he transcribed the dance without the drone line, and other is that he used meter changes in bars 5, 33, 60 and 79 which could be regarded as a consequence of the author's ethnic approach to transcription. The last mentioned lapse is in fact a result of slight performance fluctuations and not real changes of the metrical distribution which could be observed on the recording.

Figure 18.

Bartók's transcription of *Banatsko kolo* (autograph).

14

14. „Banatsko kolo“ (gajde) [dance, -con amore]

Tempo giusto, ♩ = 150 - acc. al - 168

sempre simile

(3)

Although *banatsko kolo*, which Bartók recorded and transcribed, is not exceptional when compared to other recordings before the Second World War, or discussions on rhythmic representations of the *rog* layer in the former chapter, it is absolutely a typical example of the musical thinking process that players on three-voiced *gajde* used to nurture. The organised or defined rhythmical structure of such dance could be regarded as the full capacities in controlling musical expressions by its performers, while it also shows the distinctions of the layers of which the *gajdaš/gajdar* was aware. On the other hand, there are certain limitations of the instrument regarding the tonal dynamisation of the dance form. Since the instrumental tune consisted of three layers, the drone, the melodic line and ostinato or *rog* layer on one side and natural major scale capacities on the other, it seems quite predictable that the tune had to be played in strict metrical distribution as a result of complex voice layering, while the melody most frequently had to be placed in major mode. On the other hand, two-voiced *gajde*, both Serbian and Vlachian had more possibilities for different tonal organisation. Players could use major or minor mode, but it is interesting that in dance performances they also used specific mode shifts or mutations from major to minor mode or *vice versa* to provide the dynamisation. Therefore, dances most frequently consisted either of one single material (mostly older dance melodies) or two materials where the capacities of mode contrasts would make a significant “turn” in the musical form, especially valued as one of the marks or criteria of good performances. Vlachian *cărăbaș* Arsa Gligorijević⁸⁰ (north-eastern Serbia, Kučevo) used to perform dances in a particular manner. His dance *stara vlajna* (ex. 21, fig. 19) was ordered of several performative blocks, which are organised mostly by the principles of mathesis. At the beginning, he uses a short introduction, possibly as remnants of improvisational *putnička*, and straight after he is placing the main material **A**, performed in major mode. The dynamisation in the main material was produced by motive work (thematic work), which are in fact quantitative ordering mechanisms that the mathesis would actually represent. Relative variations or changes of rhythmical or melodic tissue established the motive work, by which the local “turn” has been accomplished. After six blocks of motive works the contrasting part **B** is introduced. It

⁸⁰ His Vlachian name or nickname are not known. According to recording material: Arsa Gligorijević and Jovan Randelović (*gajde* duet), Grljan (Zaječar), 5th Leskovački Sabor, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr290.

contrasts not only by seemingly localised melodic movement (reduced to a range of movements in seconds) but also by transparent mode shifts, from major (part **A**) to minor (part **B**). However, the dynamisation have been accomplished with other expressive tools that were distinctive performative elements of *gajde* music. The rich texture made of melodic line, ornaments and the drone contribute to distinguishing harmonic features of the tune and the dynamics of the dance form. What every traditional *gajde* player does in a practical way is quite logical and simple. There are actually two types of ornaments, not including upper or lower mordents, trills or vibratos which were described before, that “make” substantial and successive harmony. First are the so called “clucking” sounds which players normally use in order of preceding *acciaccatura*. The other are performed after the main note/tone, hence as succeeding ornaments that are the result of specific articulation of the instrumental technique.⁸¹ What these two types of ornaments produce is the harmony or harmonic dynamism – preceding that gives the latent effect of the upper drone and succeeding ornaments which order distinguishing tonal orientation or successive harmony as a result of vertical placement of all melodic layers. In sum, the described expression tools show how the dance form could be dynamised or “turned”. However, one of the most intriguing aspects of dance tunes on *gajde* should be examined as well, and this is the variation principle or fragmented structure of particular dance music representation which will be discussed later.

⁸¹ The interpolation of such high and low articulating tones Mark Levy calls “drops” and “bips” explaining primarily the sonic effects that they produce as well as their role in the playing technique – the division of tones. See more in: Levy, 1985, pp. 293-300.

Figure 19.

Stara vlajna dance (bătrânească)

INTRO

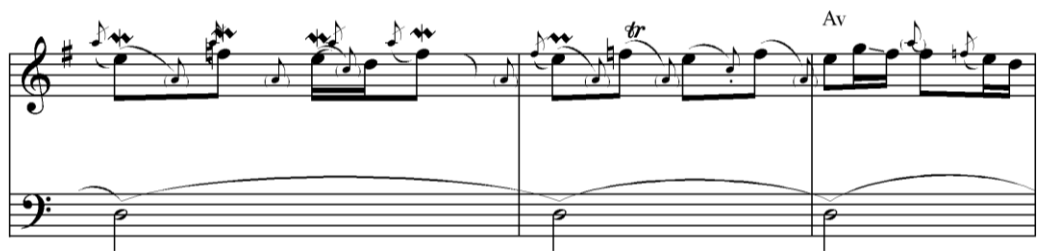
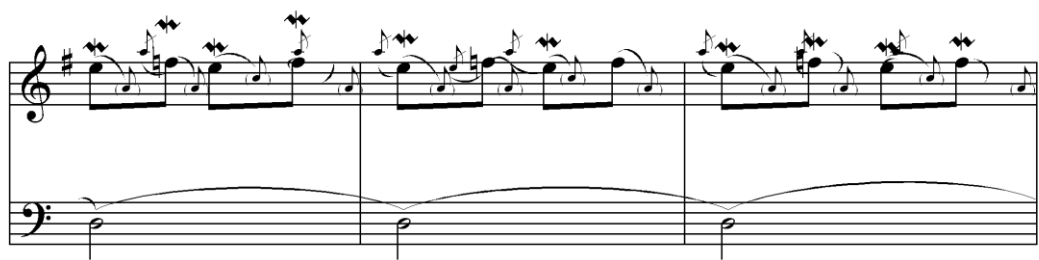
The musical score is written for three staves: Treble, Bass, and Percussion. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The time signature is 2/4. The Intro section consists of two measures. The first measure features a treble staff with a melodic line, a bass staff with a sustained note, and a percussion staff with a rhythmic pattern. The second measure continues the melody and bass line, with a triplet of eighth notes in the treble staff. The first measure of the main section is marked 'A' and consists of four measures. The treble staff contains a complex melodic line with many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff has a simple, sustained bass line. The percussion staff has a rhythmic pattern. The second measure of the main section is marked 'sempre simile' and consists of four measures. The treble staff continues the complex melodic line, the bass staff has a simple, sustained bass line, and the percussion staff has a rhythmic pattern. The third measure of the main section consists of four measures. The treble staff continues the complex melodic line, the bass staff has a simple, sustained bass line, and the percussion staff has a rhythmic pattern. The fourth measure of the main section consists of four measures. The treble staff continues the complex melodic line, the bass staff has a simple, sustained bass line, and the percussion staff has a rhythmic pattern.

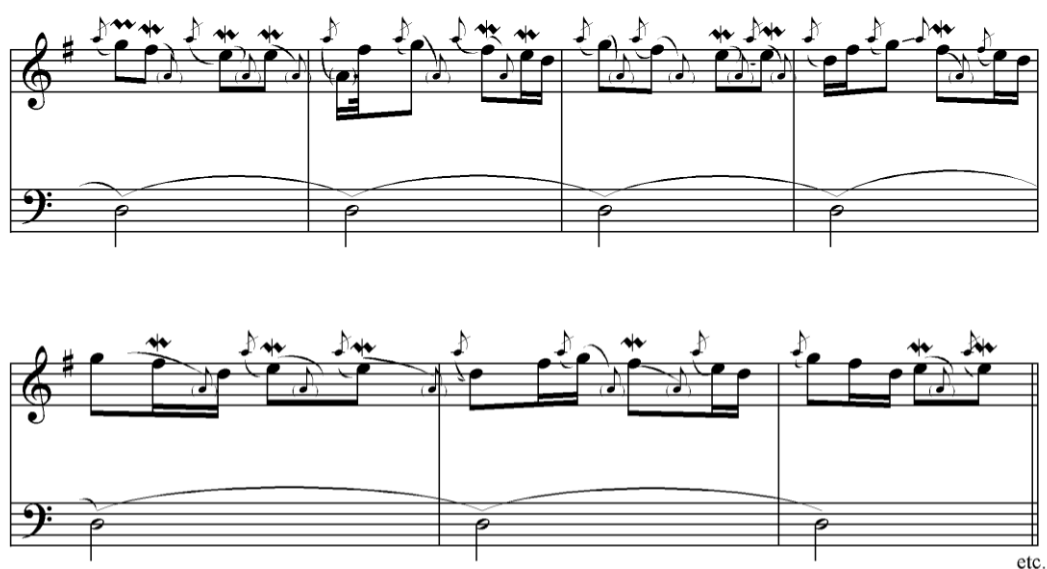
A

sempre simile



B





The largest numbers of dances performed on the *gajde* were monolithic in their sound resemblance or monothematic in its formal sense. In such formation it is difficult, but also simple to ensure the inner dynamism of the form. After all, it is the monotony that drives the player to employ specific patterns of musical knowledge that apparently increase the expressiveness of the dance. In his study on Macedonian bagpipe music, Džimrevski concludes that most of dances played on this instrument were structured (ordered) from three main constituents: (i) introduction (ii) development and (iii) *coda* (1996:237). However, what he defines as the “development” (with mathesis logic very similar to the notions of the sonata form development) is entirely based on the principles of representation, experience and knowledge of dances in which the variation acts as a fundamental result and drive of both musical ordering and expressiveness. In fact, there are certain limitations that provoke the impulse and lead the player to make something (more) of a single motif or melo-rhythmical model. Zakić saw the motif to be fundamental as a particle of the musical form stressing that, “With different procedures such as repetition, variation or segmentation of the motifs results in the formation of musical entireties” (Vukičević, 1989:389). Relations of the single-motif core and its variation in dance – music approximation was also distinguished by Leibman who claims

that “Balkan dances consist, for the most part, of relatively short sequences of movements defined, primarily, by the patterned movement of the legs and feet. Performances of most Balkan dances consist of numerous repetitions of a basic dance phrase (or variations thereof) performed, in unison, by all the participants in the dance” (1992:170). Stressing the wider significance of structural elements Adrienne Kaepler points out that the “Motifs are culturally structured pieces of movement tied to a specific dance tradition or genre” (2007:89). Going from the given assumptions one becomes aware of the different perspectives in which the motif always stands next to the process of its representation and further development or conditions of particular motive work. Considering this supplementing relationship between single motifs, solid, uniform structure of dances, one could conclude that changes/ramifications/differences visible in variational principles are the results of specific expressiveness or creative stimulus of the player to vary the form. In Rice’s discussion on the dialectics of music and dance in Bulgaria such relations show how “Each dance, familiar and even monotonous in form, did something slightly different for its participants, created a new and varied experience for them, and configured a slightly different world and a slightly different way of being in that world” (1995:224). At this point prevailing “varied experience” is crucial to understand the creative process of ordering in dance music performance.

To reminisce for a moment, *gajdardžija* Slavko Cvetković⁸² frequently spent several days playing dances at *sabor* or other social events where his master skills were much appreciated. When he could, he would bring the *gočobija* (*tapan* drummer) with him to “make the beat” while he performed long sequences of chain dances. He was the master of ceremony because he knew how to arouse people with his skilful and sometimes hectic interpretation of the dances. What was more important is that he knew the secret of that skill and he was very eager to share. The real key of making a stimulating *kolo* performance for him depended entirely on the skills of making an *okret* (the same as the above-mentioned *preokrene* procedure). Slavko applied specific vernacular logic to the ordering of a dance. He claims that for a dance one needs a good *arija*. When he played *čačak* he would perform an *arija* which corresponded to the movements

⁸² According to archive recording material: Slavko Cvetković, Lebane, fieldwork recordings by Rastko Jakovljević, 1-2. 08. 2010 (see notes on fieldwork materials).

of the particular dance. Slavko thinks that every *čačak* in fact consists of the same “rhythm” but not the same *arija*. The *arija* could be different, while the dance is ordered in such way that the *arija* is organised in strophes or *strofica* as he named them. He said, “I can play a dance for five minutes without returning a single *strofica*” asserting that for those reasons he is a skilful player. The *strofica* is actually equivalent to vocal performance of the song strophe. Slavko added – “You play one *strofica* and then the other!” and with those words he tended to explain that the *strofica* is actually one exposition of the *arija* after which the player would repeat it again, under same principles as in the vocal performance of the song. He added that the *arija* is expressed with one *strofica*, which the player repeats during his dance performance. However, the *arija* could be different in its melody, rhythm or ways of repeating. Therefore he makes a distinctions between *šumanski čačak* (named after his place of birth – ex. 22, fig. 20), *starovremski* (“old time”), *vlaški* (Vlachian) and *bugarski* (Bulgarian) *čačak* stressing that “for the other *čačak* you must change the *arija*”.

Figure 20.

Šumanski čačak

♩ = cca 90

The musical score for "Šumanski čačak" begins with a tempo marking of ♩ = cca 90. The introduction consists of two measures in 2/4 time, with the right hand playing a half note G4 and the left hand a half note E3. The main melody starts in the third measure, marked with a repeat sign. It is written in 2/4 time and features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The melody is characterized by various ornaments, including grace notes and mordents, which are indicated by small 'w' symbols above the notes. The piece concludes with a final measure in the eighth line of the staff.

sempre simile

Every *arija* does sound different, and at the same time, they all have certain similarities in terms of rhythm. However, what came to be distinctive is in fact not the *arija* or rhythm but the way he makes an *okret*. He does make differences in making an *okret* in “old time”, Vlachian or Bulgarian fashion or manners which he presumably learned by listening to players from other parts of the country. However, what does Slavko actually perceive *okret* to be? His identification of *okret* is rather vague. However, there are certain ways of understanding what he wanted to describe with the term. He stressed that “*strofica* is one thing but if you turn the *strofica* then it is *okret*”. Finally, one could conclude that by *strofica* he understands the melodic model which a player could repeat respectively. But, if he repeats the *strofica* it still does not make a “turn”. He would have to change it, to present it in a different manner or simply to make a variation of it. That would make an *okret*. In his *šumanski čačak*, after a short introduction Slavko placed the *arija* in the form of one single bar motif. The motif is performed by using the lower tones on *gajdenica* and because of that he qualified it as “*čačak* on the lower holes”. He repeated the motif four times and that makes *strofica*. After this he made *okret* by taking the last part of the motif, adding in continuation two quavers. Again, after four measures he made the next *okret* which varied the first figure of the motif by splitting the rhythm of the second semiquaver into two smaller constituents, while in the next *okret* he made changes of the second part of the motif (dotted rhythm) keeping the *strofica* for nine measures instead of the previous four *strofica*. It made the turn not merely because he varied the motif, but because the expected time or duration of *strofica* was deceptive as well. It would challenge the dancers to follow the turns and to “chase” the beginning of the next sequence. The next turn that Slavko ordered was in fact contrasting material, differentiated not only by melody but also by rhythm. He was playing *krupno* (larger) in quavers, which contrasted to *sitno* (smaller) that he performed in the previous *strofica*’s. However, the real turn is absolutely made with changes of register – now playing on the “upper holes”. The variations now affects the inside of *strofica* and afterward he makes another, not so transparent *okret* with *glissando* in the first part of the motif. After that he stopped playing, adding that then the *strofica* could be played over again or that he could start another dance – “those are *strofica* and then you return to the beginning or go forward with a new one [dance]”. The most frequent way of performing *čačak* is in combinations with

other types because only then could he manifest all capacities of *okret* and his musical skills. In integral performance of *čačak* Slavko actually combined different types of the same dance, performing it in sequences so that the “turn” could be felt more intensively. The range of all the *okret*’s made could be represented by following transcription (ex. 23, fig. 21).

Figure 21.

Ordering/Mathesis of *Čačak* dance. Integral Representation

$\text{♩} = \text{cca } 130$

The musical score is written for a single melodic line in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. The tempo is indicated as $\text{♩} = \text{cca } 130$. The treble staff contains seven lines of music, each with a boxed section. The bass staff contains a single line of music with a long note and a slur. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings like *sempre simile*.

The image displays a musical score for a single melodic line, likely for a guitar or piano, written in G major (one sharp). The score consists of nine staves. The first six staves are composed of continuous eighth-note patterns. The seventh and eighth staves introduce sixteenth-note triplets, indicated by a 'V' above the first triplet on the seventh staff and a '3' above the first triplet on the eighth staff. The final staff continues the sixteenth-note triplet pattern. Several segments of the music are highlighted by rectangular boxes: the first two staves have boxes around the first and second measures; the third staff has a box around the second measure; the fourth staff has a box around the second measure; the fifth staff has a box around the third measure; the sixth staff has a box around the fourth measure; the seventh staff has a box around the first measure; the eighth staff has a box around the first measure; and the ninth staff has a box around the first measure.

The musical score consists of eight staves of music, all in G major (one sharp). The notation includes various rhythmic values and time signatures, with some measures highlighted by boxes.

- Staff 1:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp. It begins with a box around the first two measures. The time signature changes from 3/4 to 2/4 in the third measure, and then to 3/4 in the fourth measure.
- Staff 2:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp. It ends with a box around the last two measures.
- Staff 3:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp. It features a box around the second measure.
- Staff 4:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp. It features a box around the third measure.
- Staff 5:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp. It features a box around the second measure.
- Staff 6:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp. It features a box around the first measure.
- Staff 7:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp. It features a box around the fourth measure and another box around the last two measures. The time signature changes from 3/8 to 2/4 in the fifth measure.
- Staff 8:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp. It features a box around the first measure and another box around the fourth measure.

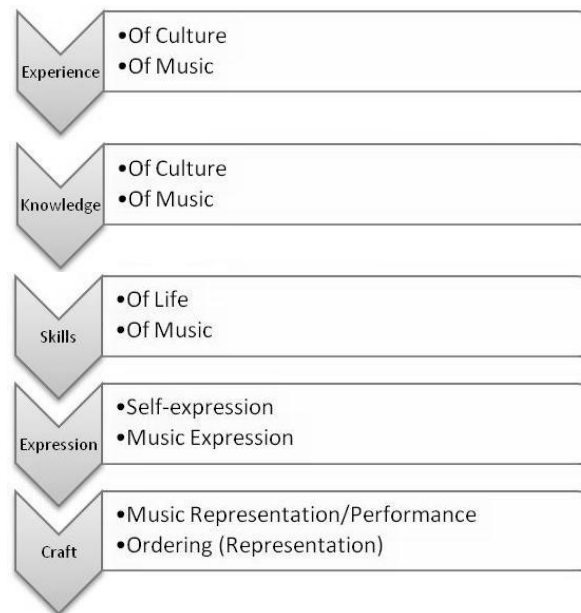


There are two general points that may also contribute to broader understanding of the dance performance on *gajde*. Comparing Slavko's experience and knowledge of *okret* and mentioned examples from Banat and Svrlijig surroundings, one may presume that there are qualitative differences in dance music representation. Slavko and even Arsa (Vlachian player) make the dance dominantly follow the quantitative nature of ordering logic (*mathesis*), which results in the effective *okret* derived from motif variations and/or specific harmony dynamism. On the

other hand, in primary focus of Banat or Svrlijig players, the *okret* is concerned to be connected to the potentials of the rhythmic structure and its changes, which were most prominent functions of the *rog* layer. However, regarding all differences, dance tunes played either on two or three-voiced *gajde* show the prevailing significance of quantitative mathesis ordering, which further is connected to the nature of a particular cultural act process or product like dance. Such skills define and affect players' craft, which again interconnects to their particular experience and naturally their knowledge. Mapping the possible hierarchies of player's engagement with music in a particular way, it is a fundamentally ordered process as well (see figure below).

Figure 22.

Hierarchies of engagement with music



Overall experience defines a specific cultural and particular experience of music. It is evident in their cultural input or social, cultural investments and significant input of local (communal, social) music practice. Subsequently, it is related to knowledge of both culture and, more narrowly music. Further, as a result of knowledge there are particular skills – more general life or developed specific music skills which individuals build. Such a process was outlined with the

employment of skills in making the instrument, in relations to nature and the development of distinctive musical skills. Going further, still into the domain of expression, one could follow the process from self-expression to music expressivity (the expressive tools of music) which encompassed the lines of individual expressiveness and skills in music. Finally, music craft, a complex ordered knowledge could be traced in two directions – from particular individual forms, genres such as songs, improvisations or dances to practical orderings that drives the music craft itself – mathesis and taxinomia, again connected to all superior levels of engagement. Because of such a complex and intertwined process, players make their valuable masterpiece – the musical craft. As an intangible process, it will also be one of the most venerable aspects of this musical practice in recent developments of this tradition.

Plate 14.

Dance event, village of Lalinac (Svrljig), 1926. Collection of Old Negatives and Photographs (Petar Ž. Petrović), no. 07630.



5 The Artisan

5.1 The Location of the Modern Condition

The main focus of this chapter is to analyse the conditions in which *gajde* music and traditional music became distanced from the social environment as incompatible, and became a marginalised cultural practise within modernity. At the same time, the following chapters introduce the main fieldwork research materials, evident in the intertwined narratives of the performers, the interpretation and relevant literature. The main reasons for this approach lies in the fact that I intend to (re)interpret the process of marginalisation and cases of musical change in the modern age from the experiences and perspectives of musicians as direct witnesses of that time.

The atmosphere of the new century awakened the desire and need for changes in Serbia. It was the time when people looked at the progressive West with increasing aspirations to introduce the modern condition to their social environment, and their individual lives. In comparison to agrarian communities, Ernest Geller follows some of the interesting lines of industrial society, hence the modern condition, asserting that:

This characteristic of modern society - anonymity, mobility, atomization – is complemented by another one which is even more important: the semantic nature of work. In the agrarian world, most men worked with their muscle. In industrial society, physical work is virtually unknown, and there is simply no market for human brawn. (2005:46)

When it comes to music, commenting on Bulgarian experiences, which are similar if not identical to the situation of culture transition in Serbia, Rice points to general changes situated in the music context of the post-agrarian period:

The genres based on seasonal rituals disappeared almost completely in traditional practice, first because the peasants no longer had any economic interest in ensuring the fertility of land and animals they no longer owned, and second, because the progressive ideology forbade their practice as backward superstition. (1996:181)

The musical changes resulting from the reorientation of the social environment towards modernisation were quite sudden, and they could be regarded as a cultural impact imposed by two major processes: (i) Migration of the rural population to the cities and rapid urbanisation; and (ii) “rural nostalgia” visible in adaptations of folk music to an urban context (Rasmussen, 1996:100). History shows that the modernisation in Serbia had always two faces – one progressive and dynamic, showing the aspirations to form a modern country with progressive values, and the other regressive and vigorous, which tended to strand society on the shores of nationalism. Because of such conditions, Serbia became more segregated. The differences between rural and urban became even more apparent, and they emerged in urban and rural settings. People started to divide into those who lived and shared the values of closed nationalistic groups, loyal to the idea of making Serbia closed to further influences from the “outside”, and those who seized the opportunity to be familiar with the West.⁸³ Deep conflicts within society brought Serbian people to a state of negative marginality, which was marked by persistent forces of the modern as the periphery, but even stronger resistance of the inside centre. However, rise of the modern, while essentially positive in character, was followed by marginalisation and destruction of a fragile traditional culture in rural areas that deserved to be saved from further decline. *Gajde* music then became the collateral damage of the process of modernisation.

⁸³ Because scholars differ in their views of the concepts of modernisation and westernisation (Nettl, 1992) at this point it is necessary to state that they will be treated synonymously. The reasons for this lie in a fact that the particular cases which will be examined show that to distinguish between the terms would distract attention from the fact that penetration of the modern is relevant as such, whether it came from West or any other instance.

Plate 15.

The harvest, Gruža (Central Serbia). The Collection of Old Negatives and Photographs (Petar Ž. Petrović), no. 10027 and 10041.



5.2 The Reflection of Reality? Traditional Culture and Music Face Modernity

During the first three decades of the 20th century, traditional culture was mostly homogenous and vital. Village life was in close contact with nature, while culture followed strict but logical rules of order that, albeit only in traces, could be traced even today. Dancing and playing at *sabor*, listening to music in *kafana*, family gatherings for *slava*, all provided a space to cherish culture and to celebrate life. The social maintenance of music was a natural condition for those who knew how to recognise its significance and power, and also numerous skills that one needed to possess in order to produce or react to it. One could say that music in those conditions was indeed pro-creational, and that although it was located in the centre of “closed” Serbian communities, it was supposed to be a living and vital legacy of the European culture as well. However, reckless and careless changes resulted in the dissolution of this potential, under the influence or with the excuse of belief that change would bring culture more closely into line with the modern condition. The remnants and memories of such transition lie in the stories of artisans of the *gajde* who witnessed the clash between the belief and ideology, nature and culture, dichotomies that will be examined closely. In order to understand systems in which traditional culture struggled for survival, I will begin this discussion by observing one of traditional music festivals today because it could indicate to main characteristics of traditional music in the modern condition, and at the same time refer to its origins from the past.

Today in Serbia one cannot find many skilful players of the *gajde*. A curious person must be very persistent, extremely well informed and lucky in order to find any at all. If somewhere there is a good *gajde* players, in most cases they will be well hidden in distant rural areas or more often already deceased by the time you got there. For these reasons it is good to be an ethnomusicologist, a person who knows how to manage in the field.

One day I was sitting in my room, watching repeatedly bad news on the television when suddenly my telephone rang. It was one of my acquaintances from the national television network RTS, offering me to come to the village of Grljan (near Zaječar) to take part in the annual Sabor of traditional instruments as a member of the jury. At first I was surprised that she

had asked me to come because it was an opportunity which is normally offered only to older experts (in my case ethnomusicologists) or silent members of certain guilds of people that circled around Serbian festivals of traditional music and other cultural manifestations performing what I used to call a “cultural genocide”. I was not sure that it was a smart choice to engage in such an adventure because one might suspect that for some reason you are there to change the course of the festival and more importantly to take someone’s side. When she informed me that after a period of absence they expected *gajde* players, I had to change my mind, no matter what repercussions it might have for my future professional development. After several days I set off on the journey. Despite bad roads and exhausting long hours of travel, I finally reached the small village of Grljan, with a population of nearly 2500 people, and was surprised that many people gathered, especially so many players. I saw people performing music on the narrow clay roads, and at first it was evident that most of them were playing on *frula* (pipe), one of the instruments that could be associated with Serbian national identity. I looked around, trying to spot at least one *gajde* player, but there was unfortunately no one there. As preparations for the competition started, I listened to *frula* for several hours, while at the same time I was defeated by the fact that no single *gajde* player has yet arrived, and I had been counting on them coming. The organisers assured me that they had searched the entire Serbia to locate the few active players left, and reminded me that they largely live in remote areas, which possibly was the main reason for their late arrival. The competition began and I was talking to other members of the jury, one Bulgarian and another Serbian ethnomusicologist about current problems of folk music and its representation at festivals. Suddenly, an impressively strong signal tone of *gajde* broke from the street crowd, announcing the presence of this almost forgotten instrument and the marginalised people who still played it. In the meantime, the first cycle of the competition was underway and I eagerly awaited the *gajde* players that were due to appear on the stage, which was located in the village centre. In the end, five players appeared at the *Sabor* which was quite a decent number, bearing in mind the situation that I knew from my fieldwork experience and frequent cross-country journeys. Although I was familiar with three of them, I had not heard the other two players, which intrigued me and made me wonder how I had not found them before. The first player was a

young man from Vojvodina who performed a barely recognisable *quasi*-traditional tune, which he had probably heard on the radio or television. Trying to tame his Bulgarian small bagpipes the result was quite a pale interpretation, but at least to be commended for the effort that he had invested. The next contestant was a known (at least to me) migrant from Macedonia who actually came to compete in the *frula* category, but who was convinced by the organisers to play the *gajde* as well. His hybrid performance demonstrated his practical knowledge – playing melodies with *frula* technique, ornamentation and structure, with accidental highly pitched sonic hallmarks of *gajde* performance or “bips” as Levy describes them (1985). When the next player came to the stage, I saw that he was not entirely engaged with music. With the variety of decorations that were hanging on his costume, he resembled a cartoon character, which amused children. This impression was reinforced by his performance, which sounded out of tune at all times, without particular idea what he was actually playing or how the instrument was supposed to be used. People started to laugh which seemed not to affect the player’s “virtuosity”. It seems that it bothered me the most. As the next player climbed onto the stage, I was in serious doubt what the chances were poor that any young person, interested in music, could watch, listen to these spectacular performances, and be inspired to become a *gajde* player himself, particularly in the 21st century. My mood started to change as I realised that, after so many fantastic performers and individuals that I enjoyed listening to, the only thing left was a man dressed in *quasi*-traditional costume, with an instrument in his hand, without any clear idea of how to produce a decent tone with it, let alone exploit all the expressive tools that the *gajde* could be capable of. The next performance has a similar effect on the audience. It was by a man from Macedonia who had moved to the capital Belgrade to work as a truck driver. He used *gajde* to remind him of his homeland, while he amused himself performing at the local festivals. Of course, he could play Macedonian dances, and his performing skills were at a reasonably good level. The only thing that was troubling was that he actually did not tune the instrument, so his drone tone was constantly low compared to the *gajdenica*. Finally, as the last contestant came to the stage I was losing hope that people would have a chance to hear something extraordinary, something that could awaken the desire. As the last performer approached, it seemed unreasonable that it would happen easily. It was an old man who

seemed too slow in his body movements, and anyone would suspect that he was not even capable of playing such hard instrument well at that age. I tried to find the paper with his details and noticed that I was not familiar with his name or had even heard of him. His name was Slavko Cvetković (see §4.4)⁸⁴ and he came from the South (Lebane), which was rather distant from the location where we were at the time. Slavko started playing and with first tone, everybody noticed something different. The tone was sharp, perfectly tuned and promising. He immediately attracted attention of both the audience and us in the jury. The *putnička svirka* that he first played was a skilful and delicate improvisation, which combined his own created segments with fragments of melody, recalling a traditional song *Promiče momče kroz selo* (ex. 24). Everybody stood and listened to his old-style tune, which was completely different, and compared to what people has listened to over the previous half hour, this was real music, from a modest countryside musician. Flowing gently on to a more rhythmical *čačak kolo* (ex. 22), and playing it with such strength and practically high precision, he won tremendous applause from the audience. And we, sitting in the jury were stunned by his remarkably good performance. As the competition drew to a close, not single player on any type of instrument remained unimpressed by the quality of Slavko's master performance. It was evident that the other players also recognised this and felt amazed. That day he received his grand prize, which I eventually realised was the first of life. As the Sabor finished I was in a hurry to find Slavko to talk to him, if only briefly for now. Although our hosts have prepared a big feast for the performers and local politicians, Slavko was already packing his things, placing his *gajde* in a small plastic bag. I approached him to congratulate and to ask him to stay, at least for dinner. He looked surprisingly sad and I was confused. His answer was delayed, but he turned and said, "It is not for me my child. All this is for important people and not for me – I am just a player". Although I was not happy about it, I had to respect his wishes so I asked for address, thinking that we should do an interview maybe later that month. It was the same as with all other players that I had recorded before – Slavko did not understand why I expressed an interest, but he agreed. He was uncertain, though, whether he could promise that he would be healthy and

⁸⁴ According to archive recording material: Slavko Cvetković, Lebane, fieldwork recordings by Rastko Jakovljević, 1-2. 08. 2010 and 03. 11. 2010 (see notes on fieldwork materials).

well, and I knew that this kind of people takes promises very seriously. After a few moments, I said, “All right, I can come, and if you are feeling well we can make an interview and record your music”. I was convincing and he finally agreed. Although he did not have any telephone number he told me I would find him in the village of Lebane, that I just needed to ask someone that I am looking for him and the people would point me in the right direction. Taking my previous experiences of the fieldwork into account, I was suspicious that it would be just as he said, but I chose to believe him. After seeing Slavko off, I returned to the *kafana* where the local administrators, organisers, performers and members of the jury enjoyed an old-style dinner and music. The next day, as I travelled back to Belgrade I could not stop thinking about Slavko’s performance which was evidently overwhelming. Although the memories of his performance made me happy, at the same time I felt sad about feelings he had shown during our brief conversation. In about a month I was preparing to go to Lebane, feeling sceptical and curious how I would manage there after such long trip to the South. There were several things that bothered me – Would I be able to find Slavko, would he be open enough for conversation, and, most worryingly of all, would he be well, since I knew that he was almost 82 years old at that time. When I arrived in Lebane, I stopped the first person I met and asked for directions to Slavko Cvetković. The older woman with her granddaughter yelled immediately “Oh, Slavko, *gajdardžija*!? He lives in that house not too far from the bridge!” pointing me in the right direction with enthusiasm because she had met a “distant traveller” who had come to their secluded place. I felt relieved that everything was exactly as Slavko had told it would be. After some time I noticed the house and he was standing in front of it, carving a piece of wood, while his wife Vojka watched closely, possibly wondering who was heading towards their yard. He evidently recognised me, and at the same I noticed that he was surprised and glad that I came as promised. After a warm welcome we entered the house to drink strong brandy – *rakija* and talk. Slavko still did not know what I was looking for, or why I was interested in *gajde*. He said that it was unusual that such a young person wanted to hear about those “old things”, especially why someone like me wanted to talk with him. However, I was not confused at all. We talked about life in the countryside for some time, just to make the situation more comfortable for both of us, and Slavko started to remember the early days of his life and the

time when he started to play the *gajde*. I listened very carefully as Vojka suspiciously observed the recording equipment that I had placed on the table.

“Almost every house had at least one *gajde* player in Šumane, the village where I grew up” Slavko said. It was an instrument that was present in his family for many generations and he was the successor of his *gajde* lineage. His father and uncle played, as neighbours and notable individuals in the village from which Slavko tacitly learned his craft. He remembered the names and repertoire of almost twenty players from his villages that were distinguished musicians at the time. Although surrounded by masters of *gajde* performance, it was not until the Second World War, in 1943 when Slavko heard *četnici*/chetniks (guerrilla resistance fighters loyal to the monarchy) playing *gajde* and dancing, making him more obsessed with the idea of becoming a player himself. He said “I will play *gajde* too!” Slavko projected and combined his interest for music and especially *gajde* with the courage and popularity of the militant rebels, knowing that it was the exact thing that he wanted to achieve in his life – appreciation and attention. The attribution of *gajde* among chetniks seemed natural, because it made a strong metaphorical connection between sonic powers that the instrument possesses, references to nationalism and broader Balkan culture, and also an association to the chetnik movement and individuals who used to play *gajde* in his opinion. More closely, in terms of Slavko’s engagement with *gajde*, somehow it turned out to be a quest for his own identification. It was “a calling” he assumed. After short persuasion of his parents, he started to make his first *gajde* with the help of his already skilful uncle. “They were perfect *gajde* that no one in Šumane had” he added. He “sang” on them while during harvest everyone in the field had to stop working when they heard his tune. They were all impressed with the great talent and music that came out from his fingers. “When I took to the *gajde*, in one year all players surrendered! There was no tune hard enough that I heard which I didn’t hit into my head almost instantly”, he claimed. Then he found *deda* (grandfather) Josim, asking him to make an even better instrument, trying at the same time to observe/learn something from him too. His father gave almost 20 dinars, which was a fortune by the village standards of the time, just to ensure that his son would have the opportunity to improve his musician’s skills. The next year, in winter, Slavko was asked to join *koleda*, to visit

village houses and to play music on *gajde*, believing that the winter would go away so that the new agricultural year could start with blessings for everyone. In the 1940s, at the time of his apprenticeship Slavko realised that his local *gajde* guild and the presence of this instrument had slowly started to weaken as “new” instruments began to spread all across the country. It seems that this process was not sudden, but that it has lasted since the liberation of Serbia from Ottoman rule in 19th century. In fact, breaking with Ottomans opened a space for the penetration of modern Western ideas and values, which had an impact on traditional culture as well. As was noted before, traditional musicians always appropriated music, and tunes went from one instrument or from one medium to another. Instruments like *duduk* or *frula* could easily imitate *gajde* melodies and repertoire circulated regarding the differences that used to exist among them. This was not problematic because it was one of the natural processes in traditional music practice. The true impact which initiated changes of usage and the treatment of the *gajde* and then other older instruments in Serbian musical practice, came with the prevalence of brass bands, so called *bleh* orchestras, largely concentrated in the Southeast and Western parts of the country (see more in Golemović, 2006:225-232; Timotijević, 2005). Although they were evidently influenced by the formation of the first military bands, which began under the patronage of Prince Miloš Obrenović in 1831,⁸⁵ it was further fuelled by vital Roma musicians who appropriated all music(s) that people enjoyed listening to (Golemović, 2006:109). Slowly *bleh* orchestras moved from the cities and through the 20th century provided entire villages with music which was contemporary and distinctively louder for inhabitants of rural parts of the country.⁸⁶ In south-eastern Serbia, this process had somewhat different ramifications. The Vlachs who inhabited those areas, due to gradual loss of their *cărăba*, turned to so called *lautari* – players on the violin while on the other side, in Serbian communities, *bleh* orchestras were becoming dominant. Just as in other regions, between the two world wars

⁸⁵ Brass band called *Knjaževsko Srbska banda* (The Band of the Principality of Serbia) was formed by Josif Šlezinger in Kragujevac, at that day capital of Principality of Serbia (see more in: Milanović, 2009). This band was one of the most important and maybe first cultural and strategical milestones which tended to shape not only cultural or musical life of the country, but to present shared cultural values of the Western world, which was significant for Serbia’s further modern or European identification.

⁸⁶ Records show that first Sabor in Guča, known today globally, back in 1961 included only four ensembles while the the next year number increased up to eleven. See more in: Timotijević, 2005.

gajde tradition was significantly eroded, while the supremacy in local musical life in Vojvodina was taken by more numerous *tamburitsa* orchestras and many other forms of popular music ensembles (i.e. singing associations, smaller bands etc.). All mentioned cases of appropriation and impact on *gajde* tradition has been followed by several general causes and conditions that *de facto* marked the beginning of the marginalisation process. Firstly, the *gajde* were outnumbered because of the lack of interest among younger persons for playing particular instruments. Because of the difficulty that previous generations of players were familiar with, a young man had the same chance to become socially visible and respected if he played other instruments, especially ones that were in expansion, not to mention the obviously shorter time required for their learning. On the other hand, “new” players recognised the potential of those popular music instruments, so they had to learn how to make people attached to their music, and they did it through something that was already proved to be worthy. The most effective way was to imitate traditional tunes and instruments which people cherished. The process of appropriation ment to learn (by tacit knowledge – to “steal”. See §4.1) local repertoire and to simulate expressive tools of the *gajde* such as constant drones, initial formulas with recognisable *gajde* high pitched *glissando* and even fragmented structure or ordering, which was specifically used by distinguished masters of *kolo* dances played on *gajde*. The result was that many accordion, *tamburitsa*, violin or *bleh* orchestra tunes resembled *gajde* tunes. Because of such an analogy, they became known as *gajde* or *gajdaško kolo* (Central and Northern Serbia), *na gajde* in south-eastern and north-eastern Serbia and *cărăbesca* among Vlachian *lautari* (ex. 25-29). Finally, as society progressed towards Western values it caused severe changes by infiltration of the accordion into traditional culture. As piano and other fabricated instruments were not easily acquired in Serbia, back in the first decades of the 20th century many people in the countryside used accordions to perform traditional music now in a “new manner”. In my opinion, accordions jeopardised traditional music in Serbia to some extent, because it directly suppressed handmade instruments, which were hard to tune and to perform on as well. Fabricated instruments like accordions also ideally fitted to the overall idea of modernisation, and on the practical side it was portable just like the *gajde* were. Slavko remembered how people used to listen to the *gajde* more than any other instrument in

Šumane. He knew a few *harmonikaši* (accordionists) who used to play in local *kafana* but when people wanted to dance they would, without a doubt still call their *gajdardžija*. “I remember that *harmonikaši* used to steal our craft, to sing our *gajde* tunes, but I was stubborn – what *trubači* [trumpet players from the *bleh* orchestras] or *harmonikaši* played I translated to the *gajde!*”, Slavko explained while he laughed. Deep inside he felt that things were going to change, and maybe somehow wanted to slow the process of marginalisation in his own way, at least on a local scale and for a time.

Meanwhile in urban areas people struggled with the difficulties imposed by instability. However, since Serbia had frequent wars in its history, anomie was amalgamated with attempts to make radical changes from the inside, wanting to achieve an image of modern and progressive society in both rural and urban settings. After the *Narodnooslobodilački rat* (People’s Liberation War) against Nazi Germany and the Axis, in 1944, the communists established a new state, while the Karađorđević dynasty was abolished and banned from Serbia. After serious disagreements with the Russian leader Stalin, a new socialist forces created at first Democratic, then totalitarian communist Federation (1945), and in 1963 finally transformed a country into the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ). The country was heading to become a modern state, although it was always balancing between the Eastern block and Western centres, and later became one of the crucial pillars of the newly formed Non-Aligned Movement. However, Josip Broz Tito’s Yugoslavia, as it is often called, in its early development until the end of the 40s (the Inform biro period) closely followed Soviet models of economic development and started huge projects to improve infrastructure and political bodies. Leaders of the Communist Party started to recruit thousands of people who would voluntarily work on the development of road networks, State headquarters and even build entire cities. In 1948 Slavko was asked to join *Omladinska radna akcija* (Youth Work Action) and with other workers from the brigade help building the symbol of the contemporary part of the capital – New Belgrade. The *udarnička brigada* (working brigade) was controlled by SKOJ (Alliance of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia) and encouraged young people to join in *obnova* (restoration), supplying them with enough food and music which kept them in high

spirits during their hard work. When Slavko was working on the construction site, he asked one of the leaders if he could bring his *gajde* next time. Nevertheless, the answer was negative. In the spirit of “anti-folklore” (Veselinović, 1987) people from urban settings wanted to listen to something more appropriate for modern society, as it was believed at the time. Yugoslavia was made up of several nations that were differentiated by their religion, ethnicity and culture and every public output had to be safe enough not to jeopardise still fragile *Brotherhood and Unity*, and ideal by which people were led and identified as Yugoslavs. The mass songs and music that was played during the *obnova*, on the whole, were accompanied by accordions which seemed more neutral, and at the same time more in tune with modern society than the *gajde* which were isolated because of their symbolical attachments to old, rural folk (or peasant) culture. However, Slavko did not argue, as he quickly learned new crafts that would help the country’s progress. For his recognised work and efforts, he received a diploma as a stonemason and carpenter that certified his craft abilities and experience, and at the same time his loyalty to the regime. Managing in such conditions of hard labour he proved that the skills and knowledge he possessed as a musician could be transferable at principal levels. A good craftsman is a good craftsman. During those years, he participated in many other State work actions, communal works and proved himself a good worker, also receiving a vast number of other trade and skill certificates.⁸⁷ However, when Slavko returned to the South, moving to Lebane, which was close to his place of birth, naturally he wanted to continue playing the *gajde*. Unfortunately, small amounts of money that he received for playing at *sabor*, weddings and other occasions were not enough to live on. Not even with his primary work with cattle and in the fields was it satisfactory. “It was a bad time for the *gajde*” Slavko remembers. In the first decades after the Liberation, a unified State cultural policy did not exist to control the cultural domain. I do not agree with the contention that Yugoslav ideology penetrated into every domain of life. If the policy as such ever existed, it was not applied with equal severity everywhere and was not decisive, at least as far as the cultural life of the villages is concerned. In support of this claim,

⁸⁷ Not counting the vernacular expertise of being a young “servant” – shephard and horseman, Slavko worked as a brick maker, cordwinder, miner, cobbler and water miller. He also made spindles, beds, furniture, *opanci* (traditional shoes), and worked on wood and metal lathes.

Mirjana Laušević agrees that traditional music had local rather than broad national impact and that, “for this reason it has never been considered dangerous to the supercultural ideology and so was not placed under strict control” (1996:119-120). Although the Party interfered with public activities, related to communist or later socialist holydays, the measures of doing that on local level with traditional celebrations were insignificant and on larger scale not strong. Rather I believe it depended on more or less individual aspirations of the local politicians and leaders who could be more persistent to demonstrate their loyalty to the Party or friendship to the communities to which they belonged. People from Lebane unfortunately suffered stricter conditions because the local Committee banned all anti-modern activities that people enjoyed. Since Yugoslavia was multiconfessional, any outage or incident in the public could initiate system instability, so the authorities prohibited all forms of religious expression that had the potential to weaken the idea of Yugoslavianism. This was particularly practiced in the areas where the ethnic structure was heterogeneous. Slavko was not able to play at local *sabor*, *slava* or christenings because it was “religion”, as the local commissar warned him. He remembered that one day people gathered to celebrate *Spasovdan* (the Ascension of the Christ), an ancient cattle-raising rite when people used to take hazel branches and bless cattle and village for fertility or to prevent strikes of thunder and lightning which would harm their crops. It was also an occasion where people sang and danced, while Slavko was one of the most important persons there because of his music expertise, considered to be the best musician in the village. People danced, ate and simply entertained until *milicija* (police) came and asked everybody to return home, claiming that what they were doing was “religion and it is strictly forbidden!” as Slavko recalled. *Milicija* saw him guilty for such indiscipline, and they took his *gajde* to punish him and prevent from playing them again. However, as Slavko was a cunning person, he folded his *gajde* and gave it to them without any resistance, knowing that he has another back at home. Slavko decisively said “they could not take as many *gajde* as I could make! Not them, not even Tito who took our *žito* [wheat – in a rhyme]”. After several days people were supposed to go to *zadušnice* (All Souls Day). Whispers started to circle around concealable curious people from the village. Eventually, as word spread they agreed to summon on *utrina* (pastures) in the middle of one smaller pine tree forest, which was close enough, but also kept from the eyes of

the local representatives and *milicija*. Since people arrived in “waves” nobody could suspect that anything was actually in progress, except that the village centre and roads were suddenly quiet and empty. At that moment people celebrated in the forest and Slavko played *čačak*, *zavrzlama*, *kolenike* and other dances from his huge repertoire, pleased that he was able to play *kolo* and at the same time earn some money for his family.

Plate 16.

Slavko Cvetković with his wife Vojka, Lebane (Leskovac) – left. Slavko Cvetković at a local manifestation in Lebane (right).



Meanwhile, approximately 70 kilometres from Lebane in village of Tasković (Zaplanje) a young player, Gale (b.1944)⁸⁸ was listening to local *gajdardžija*, closely observing every move and trying to concentrate on music that he was listening. Gale was gifted and resolute to become a skilful *gajdardžija* himself, just as his father had been before. In order to acquire the knowledge, Gale observed and listened to *deda* Vidoje and Atanas (see §4.3), playing his *putnička* whenever he had a chance. Born at the same time as the new state, his experiences were understandably dissimilar compared to Slavko's struggle. Furthermore, the experiences of people from his village with communism and socialism seemed rather different from those mentioned before. Gale was born in the new regime and what happened at that time was somehow natural for him. He remembers that in Tasković there were no major influences on traditional culture from the regime. People rarely had close contacts to commissars from the Party, much because the village itself belonged to the so-called Balkan type, where houses were grouped in several *mahala*'s that were spread over some distance, still somehow identified and grouped together as one whole village. The other reason they were spared from interference was the indifference for what people did in the village, especially how they spent their time together. Gale describes that time, life in Tasković and the experience of facing changes in following words.

The Party did not interfere! If they banned something, it was not serious, just to make their point in public, which nobody followed later, and they knew that. The *milicija* turned a blind eye to those things. I am sure that Tito wasn't against it, but those who pretended to be great communists were! Wherever I went, everything seemed just fine. It was normal to ban religion and other things, but older people had troubles to accept those measures. We, younger were taught that God doesn't exist and I respected that (my trans.).

The local authorities, obviously more democratic in profile, were not eager to interfere with people's will and desire to keep their tradition alive. As time passed, Gale became a well-known player in his area while local leaders of the Party perceived him to be a distinguished comrade, loyal to the regime. When he played in the village centre or when he saw some local leader approaching he would play *Druže Tito mi ti se kunemo* (Comrade Tito We Promise You; ex. 30, fig. 23), a famous anthem that glorified Tito's character and work.

⁸⁸ According to archive recording material: Slobodan Dimitrijević – Gale, Tasković, fieldwork recordings by Rastko Jakovljević, 05. 11. 2009 (see notes on fieldwork materials).

Figure 23.

Vocal Representation of *Druže Tito mi ti se kunemo*

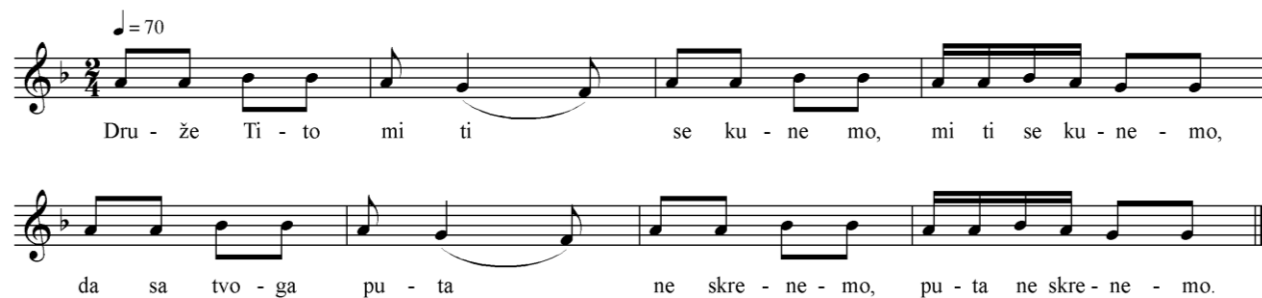


Plate 17.

Slobodan Dimitrijević – Gale, Tasković (Zaplanje).



This kept the communists and later socialists quite satisfied, which contributed to his image in local political circles, made him popular among the people and, what was more important, kept him from any possible political danger. Later Gale married a girl from *mahala* Albania (not the country), whom he met at a *sedanjka* (working bees). He was impressed with her while she sang old harvest songs. Soon he had to find a job, and one of the local leaders offered him a place in the tobacco factory near Niš. He was a good worker. Executives provided well-paid wages, summer vacations, travel and all that was necessary for a decent life. Still it was not enough for him. He wanted to play the *gajde* and because he has not played them for a while, the old instrument had dried out, so he had to find another one. With courage, Gale went to the executive office to try to convince them to buy him new *gajde*, claiming that it would be good “for the spirit of the workers to entertain, dance and listen to music”. After a brief conversation the chief gave him permission to go to Prilep (Macedonia) as Gale convinced them that it was a place where good craftsmen made the best *gajde* in Yugoslavia. So eventually, he went to Prilep to find a good master in order to buy the best instrument that he could possibly find. Entering one store, he saw dozens of *gajdenica* hanging around, *mešina* that were cured and still drying by the fireplace, and other pieces of his favourite instrument. The old craftsman asked how he could be of help, and Gale explained what he was searching for, pointing to one nice *gajde*. The craftsman allowed him to try them, but explained that it was a commission so he could not sell that particular instrument at the moment. In the end, Gale was forced to wait at least three days for the master to make him the *gajde* he wanted to have, so he went to the city and paid for a hotel. After three days he returned to the store, very excited on the way there. But, as soon as he saw the expression on the master’s face, he knew that it was not finished yet. So Gale left the address of his factory and eventually the instrument maker sent him the new *gajde*. Several days after he had returned, while Gale was at work his chief told him that he had received a package at the local post office. Everybody knew what he was waiting for. He immediately went and brought the package back to the factory where the workers had already gathered to hear him play. All the chiefs were delighted with his *putnička* and *jednostranka* and workers joined hands and started dancing *kolo* (ex. 31, fig. 24).

Figure 24.

Putnička svirka (a) and *jednostranka* dance (b)

a)

rubato ♩ = cca 80

sempre simile

etc.

b)

♩ = cca 87

sempre simile



Plate 18.

Slobodan Dimitrijević – Gale with the local folklore group from village of Tasković (Zaplanje).



As executives saw the reactions of the workers they suggested that the factory should establish a folklore group, believing that it would have a positive effect on work and morale, and be a good advertisement of the factory's concern for cultural development, which also corresponded to the official rhetoric of the regime. After intensive practice, KUD (the Đuro Salaj Cultural and Artistic Association) was formed with the financial and logistical patronage of the tobacco factory. The workers established a small orchestra of accordions, guitars and Gale as a special solo performer. Although it seemed to serve for entertainment only, in the 1960s the factory leaders put a lot of effort into establishing an ensemble to present modern and progressive Serbia and Yugoslavia to the West, by covering all costs of travel to Germany and other European countries. At the same time it was a model already known, taking roots in the capital Belgrade and urban areas in other countries of the Federation.

It is unclear when the idea of institutionalised gatherings to make music and dance actually began. However, specific kinds, certain ensembles and the politics around them determined the era of socialism in Serbia and its music(s). One of the first "inventions" was KUD (an acronym of Cultural-Artistic Association) which was a product of interest in mainly traditional dance and music, which goes back to the beginnings of the new century. The first ensembles to be established in Serbia date back to 1905, when KUD Kosta Abrašević was established in Šabac and Belgrade as institutions in which young people learned to dance and sing, first in choirs and then in smaller vocal groups, with repertoires of traditional songs but choir music pieces as well. This was considered of the visible signs of cultural modernity in Serbia at the time. Another influential development were the *Sokoli* or *Sokolski slet* (Falcon Flights), a movement initiated in time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.⁸⁹ Activities of the *Sokoli* were largely focused on representing ideas of the Slavic cultural unity, "national awakening", and also human strength

⁸⁹ *Falcon Flights* were a part of a broad panslavic *Sokol* (falcon) movement disseminated in the Czech Republic, Russian Empire, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland in the 19th century. Led by the principals of physical strength they were focused on gymnastics and athletics, while later the idea broadened to include literature, lectures, theatre, dance and even research in the fields of specific nationalistic interests. As a mass movement *Sokoli* strove to establish an image of progressive youth that served as a vehicle of nationalist ideology. Two of the prominent figures of this movement were Danica and Ljubica Janković, pioneers and founders of Serbian ethnochoreology who collected, researched and wrote about traditional dances, songs and customs. See more in: Dimić, 1996.

since the movement fused gymnastics, exercises, folk and modern dances (Tatarchevska, 2005). It was the popularity of such movements and activities that the communists and socialists substantially found suitable for developing modern social discourse with recognisable identities. As Tito's regime was introduced and got stronger, the officials from the Party re-established and transposed elements of this idea in order to serve the purpose of making an image of the new proletariat or *new man*. The idea of KUD was reaffirmed in SFRJ as something that was more or less similar to the principles of the *Sokol*i with the difference that KUD was employed to celebrate folklore and cultural identities of the national and ethnic groups that made up the Socialist Federative Republic. The regime encouraged mass gatherings of people bound by *Brotherhood and Unity*, but on the other side, it was necessary to control anything that might point to differences among people. For that reason the regime established new identities, holidays and "religion" or beliefs "improving" elements of what people already knew.⁹⁰ The intelligentsia founded a traditional music powerful enough to "awaken the national spirit", to support nationalism, while it also stimulated interests of one constitutional nation for their Others in order to merge them into more coherent superculture. In addition, the AGITPROP, Party's commission for agitation and propaganda, followed the Marxist idea that culture, especially *narodna tradicija* (folk tradition) should be improved, redefined in a "new manner", realistic in form, progressive and social in its content while at the same time it should be symbolically clear, mass, understandable and widely approachable (Dimić, 1988:56). Political bodies were also persistent in removing all traces of the past which kept Yugoslavia in what was believed to be a backward position. In one of his momentums Tito asserted several points on which communistic and socialistic policy reacted towards tradition.

You have phenomena like localism and chauvinism. People are returning to some history, backwards, starting to dig something up, forgetting the future development of our socialist communities as whole. Our own Yugoslav socialist history, unique in the future – that is our path! Not affecting the rights, national rights of specific republics, to nurture their, so called...how should I say – tradition, not at the expense but in the interest of the entire community to complement each other, that is what we want! (my trans.). (Josip Broz Tito, Speech given in Split, 1962)

⁹⁰ During Tito's Yugoslavia people celebrated Youth Day on Tito's birthday (May 25th) on which one of the most impressive acts were mass *slet's* (flights), a combination of gymnastics and artistic character performances, held annually on large stadium of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Plate 19.

The poster for the first *Sokoli flight* of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Belgrade 1930.



Key observations were that the regime had to commodify different aspects or poles of the cultural life of the State. On one side, there were issues of nationalism and tradition attached to it and on the other modernisation, which tended to distance from the “backward” condition. Accordingly, folk music had to change in such context. Discussing the almost exact situation in socialist Bulgaria, Donna Buchanan asserts that folk music had to combine aspects of the “pastoral, agrarian, presocialist past with a more recent urban, socialist present and even post-state socialist, transitional future”, combining features of old and mostly amateur, indigenous musical practice with those of professional West European concert life (2006:42). As in Yugoslavia the model of cultural amateurism in villages was also developing, the idea of professional ensembles was slowly becoming a new cultural reality and a factor of radical change. Soon after the war, the authorities welcomed famous Soviet troupe of Folk Art Theatre,

which was led by choreographer Igor Moiseyev. The “Moiseyev dance company” according to Anthony Shay, gave performances of Soviet dances which celebrated “peasant” culture in a hybrid theatrical form, balanced between traditional dance and modern movement expressions which were similar to ballet (2002:33). Under the influence of the Moiseyev dance company, the Yugoslav authorities organised Nation-State ensembles of folk dances and songs, as they were named initially. Influenced by professional cultural-artistic organisations those institutions were developed primarily to interpret dance and music of the Yugoslav people at a so-called “artistic level” (Prosveta, 1959:855). In 1948, the Government authorities and Ministry of Education formed the State Ensemble for traditional dances of the People’s Republic of Serbia, later named *Kolo* (Kuzmanović Tubić, 2008:6). With prominent iconography, costumes, massive dancing troupes and impressive discipline, the ensemble glorified the supranational Yugoslav identity, strengthened a dialogue between constituent nations, and served as a powerful vehicle of propaganda. Also, in order to support authenticity, the ensemble firstly relied on insignia in visual domains through the use of folk costumes that were generated in correlation to the origins of dances that were performed (cf. Laušević, 2007:154).

As time passed *Kolo* became more popular through their performances in mostly larger cities, putting on notable tours, concerts and performances in some of the famous halls of Europe, the USA, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and Africa. Olga Skovran, an ambitious woman who worked as a teacher of physical education in a gymnasium and as a choreographer in several culture institutions was appointed to lead the *Kolo* and she was its first principal and artistic manager. Because of her expertise and close relations to the Party, she had all the tools to realise her ideas and to produce some of the most successful choreographies, which are performed even today. On the other side, a group of people were supposed to establish an independent orchestra that would serve both as accompaniment to the programs and individual performances. However, the State ensemble at first started to perform programs in cooperation with other institutions with already existing orchestras.⁹¹ At the end of 1940s, the

⁹¹ National Ensemble for Traditional Dances upon its establishment in 1948 performed the first set of choreographies under the supervision of Olga Skovran in cooperation with the orchestra of the Belgrade Opera (conducted by Živojin Zdravković) and the *tamburitza* orchestra (conducted by Maksa Popov). The first programmes

ensemble received a prize from the Government as proof of high quality and official recognition. Later they formed a choir and expert council⁹² and in the early 1950s their own orchestra. Although a powerful apparatus of the State Government to supported the ideas of *Kolo*, the disproportion between quality of the choreographies and music were becoming more evident. The contrast that became more visible led to a great aesthetic and philosophical chasm, which made divisions between what was and should be represented as “traditional”. Dances practised and performed to perfection under the supervision of the talented Olga Skovran were, and unfortunately still are above the levels of the State ensemble orchestra. The dominance, incompetence and probably disputes of the composers who circulated and interfered with the ensemble’s development and politics led to a stage where folk music was captured within the limits of classical instruments (violins, violas, contrabass, clarinets, flutes, accordions and drums) and inappropriate orchestra which had been used from the very beginning. Later the Ensemble used traditional instruments like *frula* and *gajde*⁹³ but only on special occasions, while the orchestra remained “modern”. At the same time dance rehearsals were held with piano accompaniment which significantly affected the staged dance performance. While in the nearby Bulgarian capital of Sofia composer and musician Filip Kutev formed a modern state folk ensemble, with the best experienced musicians that he “collected” in the villages of the various distinctive areas (cf. Rice, 1994; Buchanan, 2006), making a convincing corpus of traditional instruments, composers or authorities in Serbia had different opinions. The question of authenticity was never raised, since it was thought that the Ensemble should rather serve as a factory of “imaginative folklore”, under tyrannical visions of the composers and the regime instead of representing and preserving original styles of traditional music (ex. 32). So far no further evidence has emerged that would point to individual responsibility for these deficiencies. However, the fact that the supporters of the idea which

presented dances from Vojvodina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Kosovo (Prizren) and Serbia (Vranje). See more in: Kuzmanović Tubić, 2008:6-7.

⁹² The Council consisted of scholars from the Institute of Musicology and Institute of Balkanology SASA, Faculty of Music – Department of Ethnomusicology, Ethnographic Museum, Faculty of Philosophy – Department of Ethnology etc. (Kuzmanović Tubić, 2008:19).

⁹³ In an interview with Desanka Đorđević who was the Assistant manager of *Kolo* in the 1950s (still associated with the ensemble) she noted that in the first years *Kolo* hired Radomir Milosavljević, a semi-professional musician to perform as a soloist on *frula* and *gajde*. However, traditional instruments were never incorporated in the orchestra.

saw the State folk ensemble's orchestra as a formation of educated musicians, eventually brought about logical problems of authenticity, much because neither arrangements nor performers in *Kolo* were capable of representing the richness of the instrumental sonic potential (especially timbre), expressive tools, or traditional folk music style in general. On the other hand, one could ask the question that also arises at this point; could any "constructed" instrumental body properly represent traditional folk music with purity, credibility and success, if authentic village musicians were excluded from this process? If it was believed that the Filip Kutev ensemble was not a valid representation of Bulgarian traditional folk music, could anyone expect the Yugoslavian *Kolo* could make a better choice, since it created and produced an even fainter image of what it was actually supposed to represent? In the first years of *Kolo* huge efforts were made to find suitable musicians, while skilful village players were prequalified in order to build cities and roads, working as free labour. The gap between the urban elite and "ordinary" village people now became more obvious, which was further reflected in reactions to *Kolo*'s performances. While the reactions of people in the cities to this exuberant scenic folklore were mostly positive, for traditional musicians it sometimes seemed rather discouraging. People from villages who had the opportunity to watch the State ensemble's glittering performances admired the choreography, but were confused by the fact that there were no traditional folk musicians in the orchestra. After one of those performances Slavko and his wife Vojka claimed that "every village in area has better *gajde* players than those violins and accordions!" The fact is that a large number of village musicians could really have performed dance tunes and other forms of traditional music with greater fidelity, especially if they were given a chance and conditions to do so. Less obvious at the beginning, this situation tended to underline the difference, the gap between modern and traditional folk culture, and to favour the idea of using folk music as a vehicle of building a nation-state identity. However, the difference was evident in the amalgamation of orchestral sound, periodical *ritorneli* or structure and form which was more in correlation to western modern orchestras and the adapted or "stolen" melodies from the village folk music repertoire. Polished and purified of all "irregularities", subordinated to the rules of the western classical ensemble and composition, such music emphasised the difference and disproportion between traditional music and its

modern manifestations rather than serving as a point of merger. Modern musicians, orchestra or ensemble, and modern music were in deep confrontation to what such music should offer. This was a clear mark of marginalisation – a first step on the road to the disappearance of authentic traditional instruments, musicians, music and culture located in the villages. This process initiated more divisions which subsequently established the general condition where a man equated nature with culture. One can assume that the orchestra was in fact a collateral damage or result of unnecessary interference of persons without sufficient knowledge of traditional folk music, and lack of desire to make an orchestra of folk instruments, like they already existed in countries of the Eastern block. Someone felt that the serenity of folk music and musicians could successfully be represented with modern, western instruments, bearing in mind that this would serve as indisputable proof of the existence of modern folk music – a bright future that was also a demonstration of progress that the entire Yugoslav society should present to the world. Anthony Shay connects activities of dance companies like *Kolo* with political strategies claiming that the “stereotypification” of the repertoire, representation and choreographic choices are the result of pressures by which state ensembles should, “represent the nation in a particular fashion” (2002:39-40). More deeply, the process of change in this case had direct consequences for both structural aspects of folk music, by “refashioning the role of the performers”, changing music’s appearance and form, or social aspects of such music by, as Bohlman puts it “supplanting the isolated rural community in which most individuals share in the expressive culture” (1988:125). More broad opinions argue that traditional music(s) in non-Western countries are exposed to influences of modernisation and/or westernisation, where such “intrusions” could cause either higher caution in maintaining traditional music in authentic or intact forms, or virtually abandoning the tradition, keeping it only in vestige (Nettl, 1992:382). From today’s perspective, *Kolo* made more contributions to the latter. The position between modern and traditional or folk culture visible in their performances could be potent only to form an image of superculture, to serve its purpose for urban people and the regime exclusively, but not to represent or support traditional folk music in a consistent manner. Subsequently analyzing the case of the State ensemble orchestra, initially one can be guided by the facts and political causes of such hybridism – eternal oppositions of the West and East,

traditional and modern. Although answers could be more complex, they can be justified, with the fact that interchangeable Yugoslavian policy was balanced on the margins between West and East, always weighting its relations according to own interests and ideas. For this reason, the State ensemble had to represent modern folklore, dance, music, modern tradition and the modern Nation-State, while it was at the same time the mark of a beginning of sequences which had effects on the processes of marginalisation that the real folk tradition itself suffered from.

5.3 Progressive Villages: Festival Networks and their Anatomy

Official policies in the post-war Yugoslavia oriented to the economy, mainly tied to the cities, while rural areas were focused on agriculture largely, as had been the case before. But the Party was determined to revive the villages, and the opinion was that life in those areas should be purified from “primitivism” and set on a higher level which concerned issues of education, political structure, local organisation and cultural life. Since people in the villages felt determined to maintain their local culture, customs and music, as Slavko’s experience confirms, the State apparatus had to find ways of articulating such social behaviours. At that time folklore in Serbia was strong, alive – a “hard cultural form” that by accident or on purpose changed into “soft cultural forms” which permitted “relatively easy separation of embodied performance from meaning and value, and relatively successful transformation at each level” (Appadurai, 1996:90). The case of marginalisation with the ensemble *Kolo* certainly served to this purpose under the excuse that it would “museumise” traditional cultural artefacts like dance and music.⁹⁴ However, folklore in villages was still sustainable and therefore should have become articulated rather than “museumised”. New institutions, the regulations of the AGITPROP and the Party were evidently not influential enough for traditional cultural practices. KPZ - *Kulturno-prosvetna zajednica* (Cultural-educational Association), *Dom kulture* (House of Culture) and

⁹⁴ Marking the process of change Nettl defines “museumising” as preservation of certain cultural phenomena/norms in their formation respecting the distinctive profile that it had before. He asserts that “Some societies have museumised their traditions, keeping them alive in isolated pockets of culture” (1992:382)

many other organised social institutions did not reach or affect people in remote villages where even KUD failed to become established. Coordinated by the local KPZs and Houses of Culture, the authorities managed to organise local festivals of folk dances and music where village musicians and dancers were supposed to find their place and practice owned culture, of course under the subtle surveillance of local Party officials. The idea of this particular approach however was present over the entire Eastern Europe where traditional music became a political matter rather than a folk art. As Silverman puts, festivals and relative formats of social public exercises of folklore where music was an essential part, in fact were supposed to foster “a static view of the peasant past” (1996:238). *Festivali narodnog stvaralaštva* (Festivals of folklore) at the beginning were organised in larger places⁹⁵ but still they did not offer practical solutions for musicians that were living in remote villages. So the idea of *amaterizam* (amateurism) had to be spread more carefully to places where news travelled very slowly. Industrialisation and migration of people (labourers) from villages to cities had to be managed and the logical way was to give village communities an opportunity for *samoupravljanje* (self-management) with conditions for further education and richer culture (cf. Rice, 1994, 1996; Buchanan, 1996, 2006). During 1960s and 1970s, life in villages rapidly started to change and develop. Slavko remembers that until the 1970s his village was isolated, while his music was now located in small communal circles. As he recalled at that time, many festivals were established and accordingly village musicians started to “mix with others”. The once famous *Leskovački Sabor* (Sabor in Leskovac) was held first in 1972 as a festival/Sabor of folklore of Serbia, first as a competition and then eventually profiled as predominantly a review of local music and musicians. Located in the South it was a centre where all musicians from areas of South Morava could gather and demonstrate their musical skills. However, the Sabor was opened for participants from all other regions of Serbia, since it was held at the Republic level, resembling on *Smotra folkloru* (Folklore Review) held at the State level in Zagreb (Croatia). It was a specific place that provided enough support to meet strong impulses from villagers and their talented

⁹⁵ Reports for 1963 of *Kulturno prosvetno veće Jugoslavije* (Cultural- educational Council of Yugoslavia) mentioned only four festivals where traditional dance and music were present: *Susret amatera Srbije* (Meeting of Amateurs of Serbia) in Niš, Festival of KUDs in Belgrade, Festival of folk music in Sokobanja, and First trumpet of Dragačevo (now Trumpet Festival Guča).

individuals. Experts in the fields of folklore and folk art like ethnomusicologist Dr Dragoslav Dević and dance scholar Desanka Đorđević were involved from the beginnings in order to give necessary intellectual support which was supposed to ensure the quality of performance and significant development, relying more on the fact that they were familiar with current situations in the field. On the other side it seemed that *Leskovački Sabor* and similar manifestations also initiated groupings of people from the uncontrolled mass and individuals into more organised structures like folklore groups and ensembles, which allowed easier monitoring by their local administrative offices and Houses of Culture or KPZs and *Savez amatera* (Amateur Alliance). This undoubtably served to keep folklore alive, because the participants were highly motivated, and the social systems still recognised the potential of the local musicians and craftsmen and the influence that they had over the public. Finally, the future of folklore art was suppose to change slowly and gently, knowing that the most effective way was to give people opportunities to appear in the “real” public arena. Players felt that this intervention naturally could make changes in their own local repertoire but they were not concerned. The fact was that musicians could now be exposed to many different musics and might indicate the reactions to some of the best players and their music from villages which, from their perspectives belonged to the “outside” world. However, nobody felt uncomfortable with it, since the “public”, repertoire presented was carefully selected as authentic and dubbed as *narodska* (vernacular) music. In fact, today’s Sabor was using vernacular conceptualisation making a “socialist-era reformulation of the-turn-of-the-century fairs of the same name”—known and recognised before by the people as annual community celebrations under the name *sabor* (Buchanan, 2006:171). The *gajde* repertoire at Sabor consisted of tunes, *putnička*, old songs and dances and other genres known to public, only now people in one place listened to several different music styles and practices of specific regions and areas which in structure resembled a condensed music journey through Serbia. One of the local prominent figures of the *Leskovački Sabor* was Ivko Tošić,⁹⁶ *gajdardžija* who was one of the most frequent participants of

⁹⁶ According to archive recording material: Ivko Tošić, (b. 1910), Mrtvica, 4th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1975, tr286; Ivko Tošić, (b. 1910), Mrtvica, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1972, tr257; Ivko Tošić, (b. 1910), Mrtvica (Vladičin Han), 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ?, tr84 (t4); Ivko Tošić, (b. 1910), Mrtvica, 5th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr288; Ivko Tošić, (b. 1910), Mrtvica-Džep, 3rd

this manifestation during the 1970s and 1980s. Ivko had an old-fashioned repertoire, mainly representing improvisational introductions like *putnička* and dances from his village repertoire (ex. 33). His skill was similar to Slavko's as he used a specific *okret* and knowledge of musical structure, ornaments, and even characteristics of his *kolo*, mostly because of the close geographical location and similar age of the two *gajde* players. Because Ivko was a true master/craftsman many local folklore groups that people especially used to form for Sabor "hired" Ivko so that they would have better chances of winning the first place. One year he represented his village Mrtvica (near Vladičin Han) while on the next he was competing for the village of Džep. It seems that such micro-migration could affect the local repertoire as well. Not counting numerous mixtures of musicians and their music(s) at the *Sabor*, one can assume that very silent changes were underway. What could happen was that a particular process of wide contamination would eventually blur the authentic musical style on a local scale, so people would not feel sufficiently attached to it and eventually could lose interest or neglect folklore as one of the general tokens of their cultural identity because it was no longer authentic. Unfortunately, this was certain destiny for many villages, especially if their local folklore was not entirely representational in terms of diversity of repertoire, limitations of stylistic features and many other disadvantages. Additionally, there were a small number of players and singers that had difficulties identifying with what was called *Sabor*, a people's gathering, Slavko for one. On the other hand, there were those who experienced socialism as a more natural condition as Gale did. While in his village Slavko entertained people, fighting against the inroads of the accordions, Gale was preparing for the *Susreti sela* (Village Gatherings), which was another symbol of the *folkloromania* in socialist Yugoslavia.

Leskovački Sabor, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1974, tr280; Ivko Tošić, Mrtvica (Vladičin Han), 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, 22-24 June 1979, tr413.

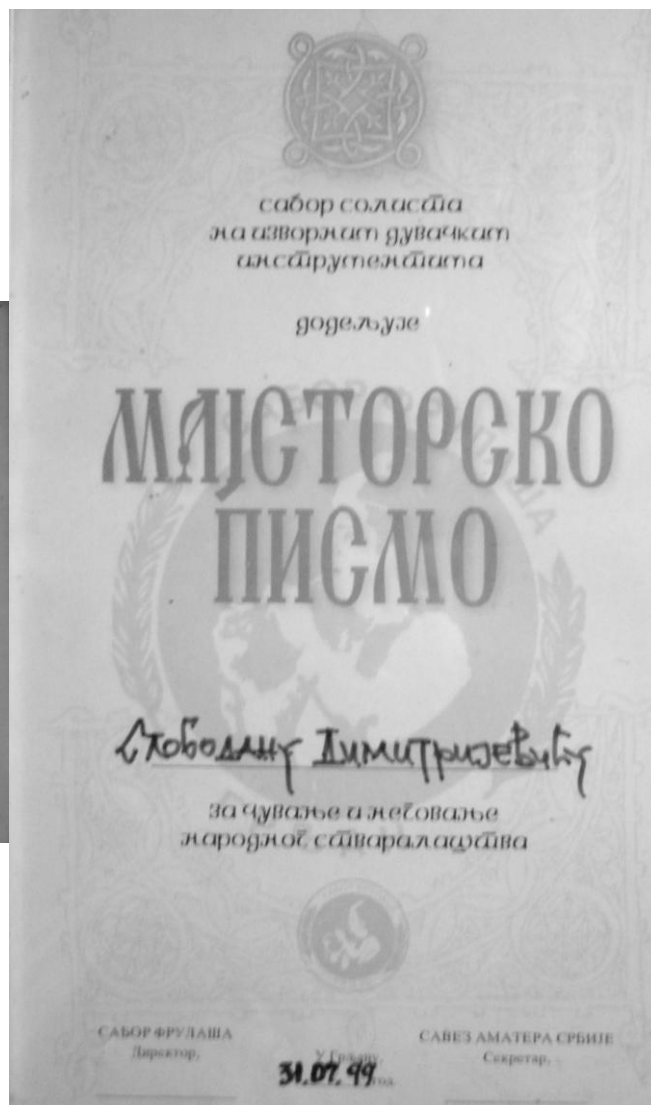
Plate 20.

Ivko Tošić from Mrtvica (Džep) (left), Slavko Cvetković at *Susreti drugarstva radnika* (Workers Friendship Gatherings) in 1983 in Lebane (right), and Slavko Cvetković at XX International Folklore Review in Zagreb 1985 (below).



Plate 21.

The Diploma awarded to the group in which Slobodan Dimitrijević – Gale was performing for the International Folklor Review in Zagreb 1978 (left) and *Majstorsko pismo* awarded to Gale by Amateur Alliance of Serbia in 1999 (right).



In 1973 KPZs of Serbia and their local offices organised a new form of competition which focused on village folklore groups called *Susreti sela* (Village Gatherings). The local folklore groups formed from local dancers, musicians and singers provided a team which would represent their village music practice and with sideshows such as agricultural works, literal and drama shows, exhibitions and sports could contribute to overall image of the “progressive village”. Accomplishments of the *Susreti sela* were structured to commodify two different agendas – cultural life, production and education of the village population, and the ideology of the Regime and its efforts to develop (or perhaps control) rural areas in Serbia in prominent position. The most popular method was to enhance cultural production where music had quite an important position in social life and to encourage competition between different villages, communities and areas in Serbia by forming local, municipal and regional levels of territorial governance for the competition. Therefore, local gatherings provided competitions of villages inside one specific municipal area where one village hosted the other rivals, while the local winners competed at the regional and then the Republic level. *Susreti sela* also provided prizes that ranged from books to television shows, which were interesting enough to the contestants, encouraged them to make even greater efforts (Hofman, 2010:82). Donna Buchanan argues that the system of festivals was structured in triadic form where aspects of politics, creative and aesthetical impulses and economy were conflated. She states,

The performances of all artistic organizations were regulated through a comprehensive hierarchical system of competitive festivals [...] Like the rankings of ensembles, such events guided the ways in which tradition – and thus the nation – was presented by according model groups, special titles, awards, concerts or tour invitations, media opportunities, and increased prestige and funding, all means of achieving distinction in an economy holding few financial incentives for the average person. Festivals allowed government organs to better monitor the creativity of individuals while also reinforcing specific political and aesthetic messages. This was reflected in how festivals were categorized, sponsored, structured, and evaluated. (2006:169-170)

While the situation in the Bulgarian case coincided with experiences in Yugoslavia, it was also different in other respects. Firstly, the prestige and funding or economic background was never highly motivating for participants but rather symbolic. Secondly, manifestations of the festival network in Yugoslavia did not sufficiently encouraged creativity but rather stayed neutral and uneven in evaluation criterias. As the popularity of *Susreti sela* increased, it seemed that it

predominantly affected, influenced and transformed the context in which people used to make music than it served as a nucleus for change in music itself. Gale remembers that during the 1970s young people were quite interested in those manifestations mostly because it provided popularity and a chance to practice their local folklore. In his village of Tasković hundreds and maybe thousands of people gathered to watch *Susreti sela* where the differences between younger and older generations became almost invisible. As Gale was one of the best *gajdardžija* in his area, people paid attention to his performances, trusting that his skills would bring highest place at the competition. Although his repertoire remained unchanged, the music acquired completely different meanings from what it had before. Performance of his *čačak*, an old-style dance from his region (ex. 34), was not considered as a tune for dancing anymore, but a sort of “stage” asset which had to be persuasive for the members of the jury. Therefore, he played not for people directly but for a commission that evaluated his skills by comparing them with other players, which was difficult since nobody could establish clear criterias for those comparisons. It seems that the jury had to rely on impressions and “convincing” performance much more than on regional or local differentiations, style, technique or any aspect which would have led at least to closer evaluation. The fact that musicians observed and measured the impact of such music at *Susreti sela*, according to the results also changed their perspectives of music-making because every context had its own rules and the stage required music presentation in a more or less different setting than before. Staging brought about changes in their music also because it had to obey conditions of duration. Dances were played with delicate time management, now timed to meet the demands and limits of the prescribed program. It meant that every dance or even improvisations on the *gajde* should clearly represent rural musical styles. In the short period available, there was not much time for players to develop their performances using extensive variations, *okret* and other ordering principals. Rather they were forced to stick to the time and commodify dances in the more condensed type of *splet*’s which lasted for only several minutes per group respectively. It seems that such duration measurements show how delicate time management, known to players from their ritual experiences and “live” transformations of music that accompanied dances, now had to follow different rules and regulations, respecting the strict boundaries of more carefully

quantified program arrangements. Although those principals were accepted by the players, they were in evident conflict with the nature of local music practice as they knew it before. Commenting on the changes that occurred with the overwhelming development of the festival network, Leibman stressed the difference between “official” and local music practice pointing to important changes that emerged from this process:

These changes are often made because the villagers feel that the simplicity of their own dances requires the addition of more spectacular elements for the stage. Such changes are subject to encouragement or discouragement by the juries of experts which are associated with these festivals. Where emphasis is placed on authenticity, participating groups return home with the feeling that they should present their dances in a straight-forward manner. Where the difficulty or spectacularity of dances are rewarded without regard to their authenticity, groups return home with a feeling that in order to do well, they must add spectacular elements to their dances which traditionally may have been performed in a quite simple manner. (1973:11)

In addition, the music repertoire changed and had to be developed under different conditions – from the impulses of the local communities and individuals from their villages to more representational experience of music and musicians at the *Sabor*, festivals and *Susreti sela* as Leibman pointed out. Players believed that they had more opportunities to learn new tunes at these manifestations, while they were less often exposed to music in their natural surroundings. However, influences were obvious in other aspects of traditional culture and representations in new conditions. As many festivals and *Sabor* were used as a competitive arena, they also served as a place where scholars and experts could get in touch with musicians and materials for their work. Gale remembers that his local folklore group got an invitation to participate at *Sabor narodnog stvaralaštva u Topoli* (Folklor *Sabor* in Topola) which was one of the successors of the republic *Leskovački Sabor*. As the group came to Topola, they noticed that there was something different by the appearance of the other participant groups. As Gale explained, “everybody had nice, glittering costumes that looked amazing on the stage”. Their *kolo* leader shouted “Look Gale, what a beauty! But look at us!”. Gale was also convinced that they were disadvantaged because of “poor” traditional costumes and he was worried that the performance would fall into the shadows of their “unconvincing” visual appearance. He said “we only had our traditional suits, *klašnjene vermane* [wool trousers], *prtene košulje* [flax or

hemp shirts] and *opanci* [traditional shoes] that *terzije* [traditional tailors] made for us". As Gale and his group waited their turn to perform, one of the members of the jury, sociologist Lela Vujošević approached them, noticing evident disappointment among these people who had come to perform at the *Sabor*. She asked Gale why they felt this way and when she had understood the situation she emotionally responded "But grandpa, you don't understand – this is your treasure!" pointing to the clothes that they wore. Fortunately, it encouraged members of the folklore group and in 1987, they were selected to represent Serbian folklore at one of the most important manifestations *Međunarodna Smotra folklor*a (International Folklore Review) in Zagreb. "It was not easy to get there" Gale claimed. Selected group were carefully chosen to represent folklore of "good quality" at the level of the entire State, with participation of many foreign ensembles that took part at the review. On the other side of the same cultural area, Slavko already had positive experiences from *Smotra folklor*a held in 1985. He remembered that the stage of Vatroslav Lisinski hall in Zagreb seemed so large that he thought his instrument would be "lost" in such a wide space, so he blew more air into the *gajde*. When he returned to his village, he was treated as a celebrity because his group had become famous on the State level, and all people had a chance to hear about their skilful musicians, *gajde* tunes and dancers. It was understandably seen as an honour for those who participated, especially for people that came from small villages and rural areas to present their local music and dance knowledge, and introduce their well-hidden traditional music to the urban population, which somehow was received with great admiration. In rich festival networks where *gajde* players were trying to adapt to the modern situation and contemporary "staged" folklore, the institutionalisation brought not only new conditions of representation and evaluation but also new perspectives and treatment for musicians in the society. Broad media coverage, which broadcast almost every manifestation of this kind on both television and radio initiated the rise of individuals, which was in a contradictory position to the folklore collectiveness *per se*. One of the first indicators of this rise was conceived at the Trumpet festival in Guča where the most prominent trumpet player got official recognition for their work which simulated the authority that the player once had to achieve in his traditional community. Therefore, every player that won the first prize three times received a so-called *majstorsko pismo* (Masters Script) as a

certificate of his excellence and musicianship. This was the equivalent of a masters certificate that authorities gave in the domains of craft work (see plate 21). Slowly the idea and institution of *majstorsko pismo* spread to other festivals, as it was believed to be a good mechanism for the development of music practice and stimulus for decreasing number of players, which was considered a huge potential problem. However, not only this idea threaten to discourage players from open competition for *majstorsko pismo*, it divided the players themselves. Some players actually believed that in order to play *gajde* one needed to have “the script”, while some saw this as an opportunity to materialise their expertise and become known individual artists with credentials similar to those who had trained in music inside academia. Two opposing cases show how traditional musicianship and music craft became more individually than collectively oriented. With his experience at festivals, Slavko felt it unnecessary to compete and “earn” his *majstorsko pismo* so eventually people from the village began to criticise his music, as he was not proven a “serious player”, forgetting that he was already known and confirmed by his music skills. He felt almost invisible at the time as he remembers. Additionally, people started to listen more to accordions and even newly composed folk music in local *kafana* which had constantly increasing popularity among people (more in: Rasmusen, 2002). While Gale obtained his *majstorsko pismo*, winning three first prizes in Grljan, Slavko even today has still not received his own recognition. It seems that the festival network failed to stimulate the *gajde* music tradition, and with time most “authentic” performers have died, without having the opportunity to teach anyone else, because the whole system of learning, style, repertoire and forms, and most importantly context had collapsed. Further influenced by a careless media, political and cultural changes, *gajde* practice in Serbia suffered great loses in its recent history, which the next chapter will discuss in detail.

Plate 22.

Slavko Cvetković (above), photograph taken during 2000s, and Slobodan Dimitrijević – Gale (below), 1990s.



6 The Artist

6.1 *Okret*: A Turn to the Media – Individuals and Their Projective Past

Following the developments of music in conditions of post-traditional society, the second modernity or postmodern society was supposed to offer solutions to many problems of humankind. However, from the reality a dystopian era emerged in Serbia where the time and orientation within became a relative category. In this chapter, I will locate music tradition and *gajde* musical practice, the art of music-making in the period beyond modernity, which contemporary studies also refer as reflexive modernity.⁹⁷ This paradigm argues the period in Serbia where the aspirations for capitalism in all its manifestation, and nationalism on the other side led to a stage of a certain indifferentiation on many levels of culture. In such an atmosphere, religion has been equated with sentiments, nationalism, and the solidarity lost its momentum with the rise of individuality, while traditional music became reduced to a cultural artefact.

Music gravitated towards mechanical reproduction and it became accessible and “capable of dissemination through the market” (Anderson, 1983:44). The presence of media in Serbia, radio

⁹⁷ The paradigm and idea of reflexive modernity was established by the sociologists Anthony Giddens, Scott Lash and Ulrich Beck. Their study *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order* (1994) aim to provide arguments in order to question the paradigm of previously established postmodernism in the works of Lyotard, Derrida, Baudrillard etc. and to regenerate rationalism and self-criticism towards the degradation of the modern societies. See also: Phillips and James, 2001.

from the 1930s, and television from the 1960s reached its full capacity after liberation, and the national broadcasting network monopolised this position, causing people to become exposed to a unified programme of *narodna muzika* (folk music) which started to dictate musical taste around the country, with scant regard to the existing differences between rural and urban areas, as well as differences within them. The birth of folk celebrities like Radojka and her husband Tine Živković, accordionists, professional folk orchestras i.e. the Orchestra of Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac, *frula* player Dobrivoje Todorović and many more artists covered a huge media space in domains of the folk music program (*program narodne muzike*) on radio and television. *Gajde* players, unfortunately, were not treated in the same manner, and they were far less exposed in Serbian media, than was the case, for example, in neighbouring Macedonia. Studies of Petar Vukosavljević, an ethnomusicologist who worked for the Radio Television Belgrade (RTB) investigated construction and tuning problems of *gajde* in Serbia. Officially, Vukosavljević's idea was to present the possibilities of the *gajde* inclusion in the *Narodni orkestar RTB* (Folk Orchestra of the RTB), but the project collapsed mostly because the tuning and non-tempered scale system was not suitable for orchestras that consisted of modern instruments, as was the practice of the time (Vukosavljević, 1981:5). Isolated cases of the *gajde* application in performances of the State ensemble *Kolo* were not successful either, without clear understanding that something should be changed in that course. The result was that, in official public domains, people had less opportunity to hear this instrument, which now was endangered by the media much more than it was in the field.

Plate 23.

Radojka and Tine Živković with *frula* player Sava Jeremić (above) and group picture of the soloists of the Folk Music Section of Radio Belgrade (below), from left: Sava Jeremić, Maksa Popov, Mara Đorđević, Đorđe Karaklajić, Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac, Ljubivoje Vidosavljević. Second row: Radojka Živković, Zorka Butaš, Danica Obrenić, Aleksandar Dejanović, Anđelija Milić, Radmila Dimić etc.

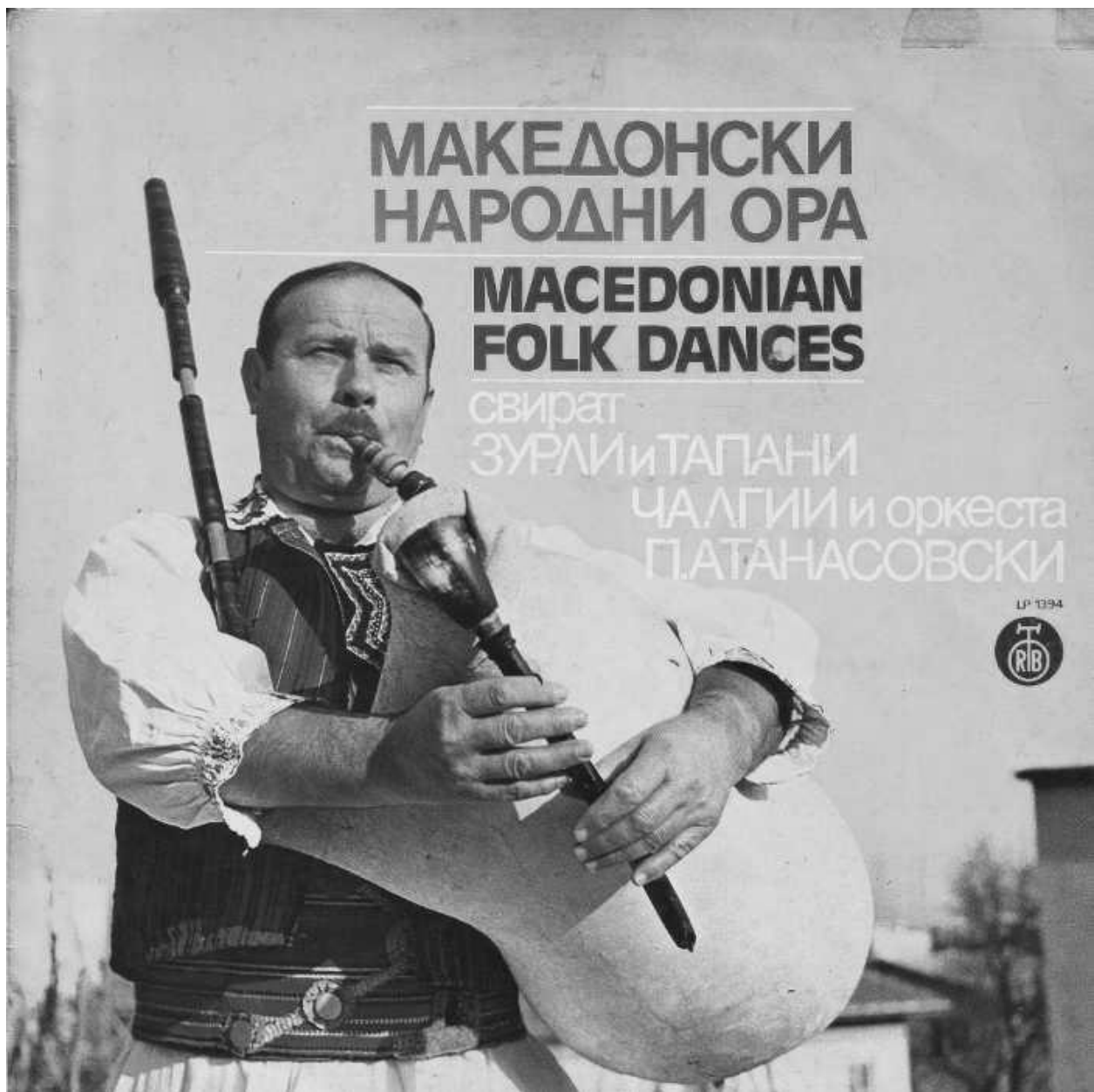


However, program of the Macedonian National Radio was listened in Serbia as well, and while the program from capital Belgrade were saturated by *accordionfilia*, some young listeners became interested in the *gajde*, merely because of the existence of a special media figure, *gajde* player Pece Atanasovski (born in Dolneni, 1927) whose music was frequently broadcasted on regional media. Working closely with Macedonian ethnomusicologist Živko Firfov, a talented village musician Pece began his professional career in the 1950s, working first in the State ensemble *Tanec* (Skopje), which was the equivalent of the Serbian *Kolo*. In the 1960s, he was appointed as director of the Folk Orchestra at Radio Television Skopje. Mostly admired for his old-style ornamentation and brilliant skills or instrumental technique, Pece was one of the most important figures of recent *gajde* music history not only in Yugoslavia but also in the Balkans. He served as one of the distinctive folk players, who tried to preserve the old repertoire and style (sic) and represent a genuine music-making process that combines modern spectacle (scenery, media and orchestra) and traditional values through his *gajde* music (ex. 35). In addition, he also enjoyed gatherings of *gajde* players from Yugoslavia and had great respect for village musicians, since he came from the same roots (cf. Džimrevski, 1996:163-165). Pece's repertoire consisted of local dances and tunes that he had learned from other village players. However, the transition and modernisation required skills more attached to media representation, with marketing capacities, which Pece also knew how to articulate without rejecting the potential of authentic folklore. With the support of the authorities, he represented musical folklore in forms close to the traditional style that existed in village practice, which now declined. It could be perceived that this skillful and charismatic individual marked the era of individuals engaged with folk music, while his music in fact stimulated the imagination of other people, just as traditional music had done in past, only now by different means of transferral. Therefore, as an individual figure, he deployed music in the media, reconciling and reaffirming past experience that could offer and (re)affirm "now" as a projective past. This would simply mean that once active and developed practice should become potent and productive to create new identities and to make the shift to a holistic marginal location. It means that the folklore representation should offer traditional style with all its characteristics through media and other contemporary means and solutions. Because of

the specific and successful dualism and reconciliation between traditional and media performance Pece became more than a media figure, and his skills influenced engagement of many other players, becoming their role model.

Plate 24.

The Pece Atanasovski Orchestra, *Macedonian Folk Dances* (LP album cover), Radio Belgrade, 1970s.



In 1971, in small village of Lasovo, in the foothills of the mountain Tupižnica (near Zaječar, eastern Serbia) a representative of the new generation of *gajde* players was born. In his early years, Bokan Stanković⁹⁸ eagerly anticipated the television programme on every New Years Day, only because every Republic gave shows of which folk music was an essential part. Watching and listening to music shows where Pece Atanasovski performed he became obsessed with the instrument that he saw, and perceived Pece's artistry with admiration and excitement. However, he noted that the music and instrument which Pece was playing did not match with the sound and image that Bokan could connect to his immediate experience from his traditional context. Pece played on the Macedonian two-voiced *gajde*, while in Bokan's village people used to play on a three-voiced instrument. Sonic and visual difference however did not worry him to much. Born into a *gajdar* family, his experience and knowledge of *gajde* were shaped by stories of his *čukundeda* (great-great grandfather) who has been regarded as the best local player back in the 1890s. Following generations of his *gajdar* lineage had proved loyalty to this instrument, which eventually led Bokan to realise that he was the only one who had not played the *gajde* before. Although very young, he already knew how to play several instruments like *piska*, *frula*, and *okarina* and this was proof of his early interest in music, while the family tradition and local music practice challenged him to think about playing the *gajde* as well. Almost every dance that people still used to perform on public occasions were deeply connected to the *gajde*, and although their music became appropriated, performed on accordions or some other modern instrument, the logic (orderings) and sonic resemblance indicated that the dance originated from *gajde* instrumental practice and technique. Unfortunately, his parents were not pleased with the idea that their son should be a musician at all, believing that "no one had eaten bread by playing". Despite such constraints and limitations, without the knowledge or consent of his parents, Bokan secretly observed some local musicians at fairs, trying to repeat melodies on a *gajdenica* that he had inherited from his *čukundeda*. However, Bokan still did not have a proper instrument, so he used a plastic bag from the market as *mešina*, placing *gajdenica* in it in order to simulate performance on *gajde*. This was clearly not a permanent or satisfying solution, and

⁹⁸ According to archive recording material: Bokan Stanković, Lasovo/Zaječar, fieldwork recordings by Rastko Jakovljević, 13. 05. 2009 and 06. 02. 2010 (see notes on fieldwork materials).

Bokan desperately sought any masters that he could convince to sell or at least lend him an instrument. In Lasovo people listened to various kinds of traditional music that fluctuated from traditional forms of singing, instrumental pieces, performed on *okarina*, *frula*, trumpet or accordions to *kafana* music performed by local female or less frequently male singers. The presence of *bleh* orchestras and the conditions of the modern decreased the number of local *gajde* players who were becoming increasingly obsolete for the local musical taste. However, Bokan's interest led him to older musicians who informed him on the relevant details of *gajde* music practice in Lasovo and the nearby village of Bučje. Bokan found out that once it was considered as a primary form of instrumental music-making practice in his area, and that it had been suppressed by the sudden expansion of accordions in the 1940s and *bleh* orchestras that came to his village with the first prisoners from Austria and Germany in first decades of the 20th century. The changes inflicted by the media and official discourse had also had a strong impact on local music culture. Older *gajde* players like Milorad Milojević, who had come from Dobrujevac to settle in Lasovo, felt discouraged by those challenges, and the fact that there was no place for him to perform, and, like many of his kind, he had withdrawn from public appearances. This meant that the players felt marginalised by current conditions. However, Bokan had a slightly different approach to local tradition and practice. At first, he thought that his task was to collect music as much as he could in order to learn and then to apply this knowledge. He learned and maintained all the songs and dances that people used to remember and perform in the not-so-distant past, while at the same time he learned about all the *gajde* players that had made music in his area throughout the ages. Going further, he realised that he could still find Jova Randelović from Perutina (see fn.78), near Niš who could help him find and explain how to make his own instrument. At the age of thirteen Bokan went to Perutina. Master *gajdar* Jova, surprised that he had the interest and already well developed music skills, after some consideration decided to give him his own *gajde*, trusting that they would "live in his hands". It was evident that young Bokan was interested not only in music that was once performed on this instrument, but desperate to find out all the details relevant for such a neglected practice. Museumising process was a part of his particular engagement with music which was performed on *gajde*. It was a part of his learning process and the best way to

improve his knowledge and experience at the time. For these reasons, the apprenticeship was challenging for Bokan because not only the instrument was hard to play, but also because the contextual frame in which such specific music and cultural phenomena existed was starting to deform radically, erode and disappear. Besides media influences and more intimate lessons that he secretly got from his grandfather and other players, his musical experience was charged by the input he received at the local *Sabor*. In 1986 although still a novice, with his debut Bokan instantly attracted the attention of the viewers of *Sabor Homoljski Motivi* in Kučevo. He still remember the words that he heard from one older *gajde* player who commented on the competition outcomes – “We were good, but there was some little kid from Lasovo that plays dangerously well”. In the following years, Bokan performed at many local festivals; however, it seems that this was not entirely satisfying. He felt that his music tastes and interests did not correspond to the modern society that he belong. “I would be happier if I had just been born in the 1920s” Bokan claimed with grief. Realising the difficult situation where local *gajde* players were disappearing from public performances, as they got old or withdrew to more intimate circles where such music and skills were still appreciated, Bokan knew that festivals would not satisfy his great appetite. For that reason, he started to travel to Sokobanja and surrounding villages to capture and retrieve authentic *gajde* music which was played at local celebrations and weddings. On those occasions one could still meet many skilful players like Miodrag and Voja Milosavljević (see §4.2) who helped Bokan to learn *gajde* music. The experience and knowledge of the people, and music presented at *Sabor* were actually a process of initiation and the place where Bokan was introduced to the guild, which further helped him to become accepted in other villages than his own. Upon his first arrival in the Sokobanja villages of Rujište and Seselac, he noted the excitement among the dancers and players who created an atmosphere which he thought had been lost in modern times. It was exactly what he had sought to find, a live contextual framework, where *gajde* music was still maintained. After several *kolo* he wanted to demonstrate his skills. The older *gajdar* Radivoje Marković from Seselac⁹⁹ announced him, stepping back to give some room to the newcomer. Bokan started to

⁹⁹ The recordings of this *gajde* player are also found in the archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA – Radivoje Marković, Seselac, Sokobanja-Ozren, recorded by Ana Matović, 1971, tr259.

play *polomka*, a well-known *kolo* of that area (ex. 36). After several phrases, people suddenly stopped dancing. Bokan continued to play, but one could easily notice that he felt uncomfortable with the situation. One local man shouted “what are you doing? He doesn’t know how to turn *kolo*!” At first, Bokan was confused, and later became more disappointed that in his observations and careful listening he had missed something as important as that. In fact, he did not realise what exactly people expected him to do. Was it the tempo, the melody or something else? The older *gajdar* could not explain what he should do exactly either, but he advised him to listen more carefully the next time he came. A similar scenario was repeated in other villages when Bokan finally found that “one must play music in the same manner as their local *gajdar*”. What it meant precisely was that a newly introduced player should represent music that fits the former musical experience of the specific social group to the last detail. It is similar to the process which Merriam defines as “re-learning” where a musician must commodify and appropriate his already learned music in order to satisfy his audience (1964:158). Successful representation should cover a whole range of prerequisites such as the repertoire, which had to coincide with local musical knowledge and experience, expressive tools like ornamentation, which defines the *gajdar* melody of the particular location, beats of the *rog* where the “turn” or *okret* fluctuates from the basic changing notes of the dominant and main tone, to changes on a counter rhythmical structure, or some other rhythmical variation that needs to be performed. Also important, but rather difficult, was to trace the sensibility or specific style of local music performance, which was mainly established by people’s experience and habits and routines in listening to some specific *gajdar* who performed music in their village. Therefore, the same *kolo* could be played more *meko* (softly) as *gajdar* from Sokobanja should do, or *oštro* (sharp) as those from Svrljig used to play (compare ex. 37-38). These subtle or fine details in the same dance could qualify the entire music performance *per se*, and one particular *gajdar* could be successful in his own social environment, but of rather insignificant range in another. Furthermore, the lack of verbal instructions on such specifics once again proved that *gajde* music practice is based on silent knowledge transmission, which Bokan also needed to adopt and apply in order to establish credibility among people.

Despite severe contextual changes, Bokan's interest in traditional music and knowledge of the typical local music practice surprisingly improved. The fewer the opportunities to play *gajde* were, the more eager he was to keep ahead of this marginalisation process. He felt that somehow his mission was to challenge modernity and to preserve music as much as he could. Finally, his engagement led him to the point when he started professional training in music by entering music school. However, Serbian music educational system did not recognise categories of traditional music(ian), and hence folk instruments like *gajde* were definitely not a part of official educational programs. For these reasons, Bokan had to study another instrument, leaving him with the choice of playing the trumpet, which was justified by the fact that this instrument was already known to him, largely from performances of the local players and *bleh* orchestras. On the other hand, the trumpet was an instrument on which he could easily perform both folk and classical music, as he was aware. However, his engagement and success with the trumpet emotionally never reached the significance that *gajde* had in his life. Bokan still travelled to neighbouring villages to perform *kolo*'s at weddings, festivals and celebrations. After several years of basic music training in classical music, he came to Belgrade and entered the high music school Mokranjac, which was prestigious at the time, and one of the best music schools in the country. Bad economic situation and life in an urban areas required substantial amounts of money which Bokan provided by performing trumpet music at weddings and celebrations in Belgrade from the age of fifteen. Simultaneously he played classical music as an essential part of his formal education, modernised folk music performed at the weddings and *gajde*, *frula*, *okarina* and other traditional instruments, which he used in small ensembles of the KUD, Rad and IMT in Belgrade.¹⁰⁰ Conscious of the fact that somehow music he performed defined his musicianship in three different directions, he made a distinction between those realms of his engagement and cultural activity; he was *muzičar* (musician), capable of reading and writing musical scores and performing classical music, *muzikant* who played many different types of folk music at weddings, and *svirač* (player), who played a traditional folk music

¹⁰⁰ Even in the 1980s the essence of KUD and its appearance had not changed. A survey and manual for work with instrumental ensembles in local KUD's and amateur folk groups presupposes "the existence of a folk orchestra with the following: 3 violins, viola, cello, bass, accordion and clarinet, hence in total 8 instruments" (Milanović, 1983:38).

repertoire on *gajde*, *frula* or *okarina*. However, as a part of official discourses, professional career with trumpet was more promising, and at the end he was admitted as a student at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade. Since the University requirements were high, Bokan had no time to play at weddings and celebrations, which was an economically insuring vocation. During that time, the officials from the State ensemble *Kolo* heard about his music expertise, and invited Bokan to join their tours around Serbia. He felt that it was a chance of a lifetime, that would allow him to play *gajde*, and at the same time to be financially independent, to do what he really enjoyed for living. In fact it was what he had wanted from the very beginning, the reason why he started to play the trumpet and study music at all. *Kolo* gave him a scholarship to support his training at the Faculty and in 1990 he became involved in the programs of the State ensemble playing the *frula*. After several unsuccessful attempts to convince the authorities of the ensemble to allow him to play the *gajde*, Bokan changed his opinion about working for the State ensemble. "People from the State ensemble had listened only *frula* and *gusle*, and they did not have further experience with *gajde*, so they rejected something that is ours and older, because of such ignorance. It was as if the Serbs had started to feel ashamed of the *gajde*" Bokan claimed. Obligations and liabilities incurred as a scholarship holder of the ensemble and student at the Faculty did not leave him enough time to earn his living, and his financial situation started to deteriorate. While other instrumentalist in the ensemble secured permanent positions and decent wages, Bokan was mistreated and left only with a symbolical scholarship, with the only compensation of performing on stage. Furthermore, the ensemble required him to perform only in Serbia, while other players had the opportunity to give concerts and to travel on international tours to England, the United States and many other attractive locations. Eventually disappointed, Bokan left the State ensemble, but he got an invitation that would initiate further changes in his musicianship, and become a milestone in his career and life. Unfortunately, this was a marker of further marginalisation of his favourite instrument, which occurred as the result of that change.

The phenomena that will be analysed at this point actually had its roots before, in the years of his birth, in the environment of the Socialist regime. The 1970s Yugoslavian economy and

strategic development also inclined a cultural life in the cities which flourished with different musics, ranging from folk, popular to classical and even experimental music. Modern social conditions developed a significant music industry which was at the same time a part of the broad image of modern Yugoslavia, and a part of political aspirations and agendas. In that system, rock music was recognised as a quality and powerful medium for transmission of certain messages among young target groups. In 1974, music student Goran Bregović (1950) formed a band called *Bjelo dugme* (The White Button) which influenced not only the domains of popular but also traditional folk music in Yugoslavia. From the very beginnings, songs composed by Bregović were based on the driving forces and dialectics of two apparently opposite concepts – folk and rock or popular music. The success of his songs and popularity that he and his band enjoyed were reached by presenting popular music to progressive and modern youth through a specific combination with folk music that was surely familiar to people's experience, making his music sympathetic to local taste and therefore easier to accept on all levels of the social scale. The cohesion between those two driving forces reached its peak in the 1984 album release where Bregović used timbres of traditional folk voices of singers from the Croatian State ensemble *Lado* (called *ladarice*), and traditional folk instruments in order to (re)create specific sonic atmosphere of the Balkan music. The results of such distinctive music genre were later defined by the media and Bregović himself as "shepherd's rock". One of the most successful singles, from the album entitled *Lipe cvatu* (Linden Blossom), Bregović generally featured a particular folk-style line of rhythmic and melodic motifs that recurs through the piece which was performed on *gajde*, *tambura* and *goč* (drum). Pece Atanasovski, who was already a famous folk music artist, performed the main role of this line. The success of this single was so great that people later accepted and regarded it as a traditional folk song, now also performed at weddings and other celebrations (ex. 39). The next milestone in Bregović's career occurred with the soundtrack for Emir Kusturica's award-winning movie *Dom za vešanje*.¹⁰¹ Despite differences between officialdom and the eccentric artistic imagery and

¹⁰¹ Literal translation of this release is *Home for Hanging* but the film was known on the Western market as *The Times of the Gypsies* focusing on the main protagonists of the movie and the Romani language that was mainly used. The movie was made in 1988 and nominated for *Palme d'Or* Award at Cannes Film Festival the next year.

narratives of Kusturica and Bregović, the release became an absolute international success. People talked and argued over the details of the film and laughed at the anecdotes from the roles of the Roma actors, while music became so popular that there was no person who did not know the songs from this movie. The popularity which Bregović won with this soundtrack attached his music even more to folklore, which was followed by the break of *Bjelo dugme*, and in the 1990s more severe disintegration and dissolution of the states that consisted Yugoslavia.

Plate 25.

Bokan Stanković, Village Competition in Salaš (Zaječar), 1987 (left), Milan Radovanović (Resnik), Predrag Jovanović (Miljkovac) and Bokan Stanković (Lasovo) on Sabor in Grljan 1986 (right). Bokan with Jovan Randelović on Homoljski motive festival in 1986 (below).



In post-socialist Yugoslavia, which was administered by the socialists and their leader Slobodan Milošević, people suffered difficulties caused by war, economic instability inflicted by international economic sanctions, unemployment and poverty, while moral standards and culture were taken to the edge of absurdity. It was a condition which some refer to as the time of “blocked transition” (Macura, 2006:22). A dominant “cultural” pattern, termed *turbo folk* began to take hold, and culture generally became decadent and meaningless. Music hyperproduction, maniristic music products that were mostly “borrowed” from the repertoires of Middle Eastern, Greek and Bulgarian authors, barely dressed females and cheaply dressed male singers, nepotism in industrial circles eliminated every quality that had existed in the official public realm, now most evident in media.¹⁰² The national broadcasting network RTS, served up processed information that was supposed to blind and isolate people from the real gravity of the situation. Supporting members of the political milieu established special media that pushed a bad taste programme, based mostly on Latin-American telenovelas and kitsch music programming.¹⁰³ It seems that the Socialist Party supported such anarchy only to keep people away from the real problems that society faced during hard times, which as an idea was paradoxical in its own terms. Under such conditions, Bregović returned from Paris where he was in exile during the war in Bosnia, and came to Belgrade in order to establish a new career, now without his rock band. In the first half of the 1990s Bregović hit on the idea to form a brass band that would resemble professional Roma *bleh* orchestras which people enjoyed listening to. First he came to Belgrade Philharmonia to convince trumpet players to join him, believing that the knowledge of score reading and music expertise would facilitate the work. His ideas although justified in a capitalistic sense constituted the same type of direct interference that had once been undertaken by Filip Kutev who travelled across Bulgaria in order to find and

¹⁰² There are significant differences and debates on the definition of the concept or phenomenon of *turbo folk*. However, it could be claimed that the music, its protagonists and culture was created as a product of Milošević’s political regime, mostly connected to nationalistic sentiments of the Serbian diaspora, but also as a quest for national identification of former Yugoslav republics during 1990s. It is also evident that this phenomenon, in its different or perhaps the same appearance emerged in all post-socialistic Eastern European countries i.e. Bulgarian *chalga*, Greek *rembetika* etc. See more in: Kronja (2001), Rasmussen (2002; 2007), Mijatović (2003; 2008).

¹⁰³ The Pink Media Group was established in 1990s as the largest private media and entertainment company, first in Serbia and than in whole region of South-eastern Europe. The owner and founder of Pink, Željko Mitrović was a member of the ruling Party JUL (Yugoslavian Left), which was led by Mira Marković, the wife of Slobodan Milošević who was the president of post-socialist Yugoslavia.

appropriate singers and players for the purposes of the State ensemble. However, an impotent policy and difficult political context allowed him to do what he wanted, and somehow to take the role of “museumiser”, an authority that perhaps should be entrusted to a governmental institutions of culture. After several auditions, it was evident that most of players from the Philharmonia knew how to play the trumpet well, but they failed to perform folk music, mainly because of their classical music training and practical music background, which was closer to academia than the *kafana*. However, two trumpet players Dragan Celevski (Jabuka) and Goran Odović (Imotski) matched mostly because their life and therefore music experience was connected to villages where they still lived. Because of their “matching” similarities and experiences with folk music, Bregović gave them the task of finding other players who would perform in his orchestra. After considerations, two trumpet players asked Bokan to come at the rehearsal so he could attempt to play the trumpet in the desirable “folk style”. “I got a score and started to play. From the first, I knew that such music couldn’t be performed with scores. I knew the melodies because I’d already played them at my wedding *svirka’s*” Bokan said. The fact is that Bregović used tunes and songs which people from rural areas already knew from the performances of local Roma *bleh* orchestras (i.e. Salijević or Boban Marković orchestras) or Roma singer Šaban Bajramović who performed one of the greatest hits *Mesečina* and *Čaješukarije* (ex. 40) back in the 1960s, which Bregović later adopted. After a few bars, Bokan turned his head away from the music scores and started to play by heart, just as he would do on his village performances. The melody suddenly made sense, as the style was exactly what Bregović wanted in the first place. Everyone was stunned with Bokan’s master performance which meant that he got the job. Initially, a small seven-member ensemble practiced for a few months. Bregović also included female singers that would support the image of creating a “Balkan atmosphere” and a unique performance style. For that purpose, he invited Daniela and Ludmila Ratkova from Radio Sofia and later other singers of the famous *Le Mystere des Voix Bulgares* Snežana Borisova and Lidia Dakova who had performed with the Filip Kutev State ensemble before joining Bregović’s troupe. Since 1998, with his *Weddings and Funerals Orchestra* Bregović performed music mainly in the forms of concerts all over the world, while Bokan was positioned as lead trumpet in that orchestra. With lost Bulgarian voices, *gajde*

players and runaway Philharmonic musicians as trumpeters and a Roma music repertoire the whole orchestra resembled a showcase of the marginal, which in fact was exotic for the audience and thus one of the key components of Bregović's music and a great success. Bokan tried several times to convince Bregović to let him play *gajde* on the stage, which would have particularly pleased him and probably audience as well. After several attempts the whole idea was abandoned because "the boss thought it was unnecessary" as Bokan pointed out. After many years of hard working and frequent, long and exhausting tours, all the performers lost motivation not just because of the intensity, but of the fact that "the boss" required them to perform music that in fact they did not understand, while the economic component was poor as well. For every concert, each musician received a wage that could be achieved at every local fair or wedding, if not even less. During fifteen years of performing all across the globe, the ensemble has undergone many personnel changes due to undesirable work conditions. Although reluctant, Bokan had to stay, realising that now he has no chance of playing the *gajde* for a living, he has a family to take care of and poor health, which got worse from hard and long work hours. "I wish I could stay at home and play *gajde* all the time, to teach someone, to open a workshop, to play music that I like, but I simply can't!", he said with a sense of knowing that he felt chained to this business. There was no way out of this unenviable economic situation and he had no chance of playing the *gajde* and earn at the same time, while radical changes significantly affected traditional culture. Such disorder changed also understanding of this specific music culture. It seems that traditional music in this condition falls into the wider concept of world music, where it is marginalised and located as one of the "infinite numbers of meanings" (Nercessian, 2002:26), which this postmodern concept implied.

Plate 26.

Bokan Stanković on local performance in Lasovo.

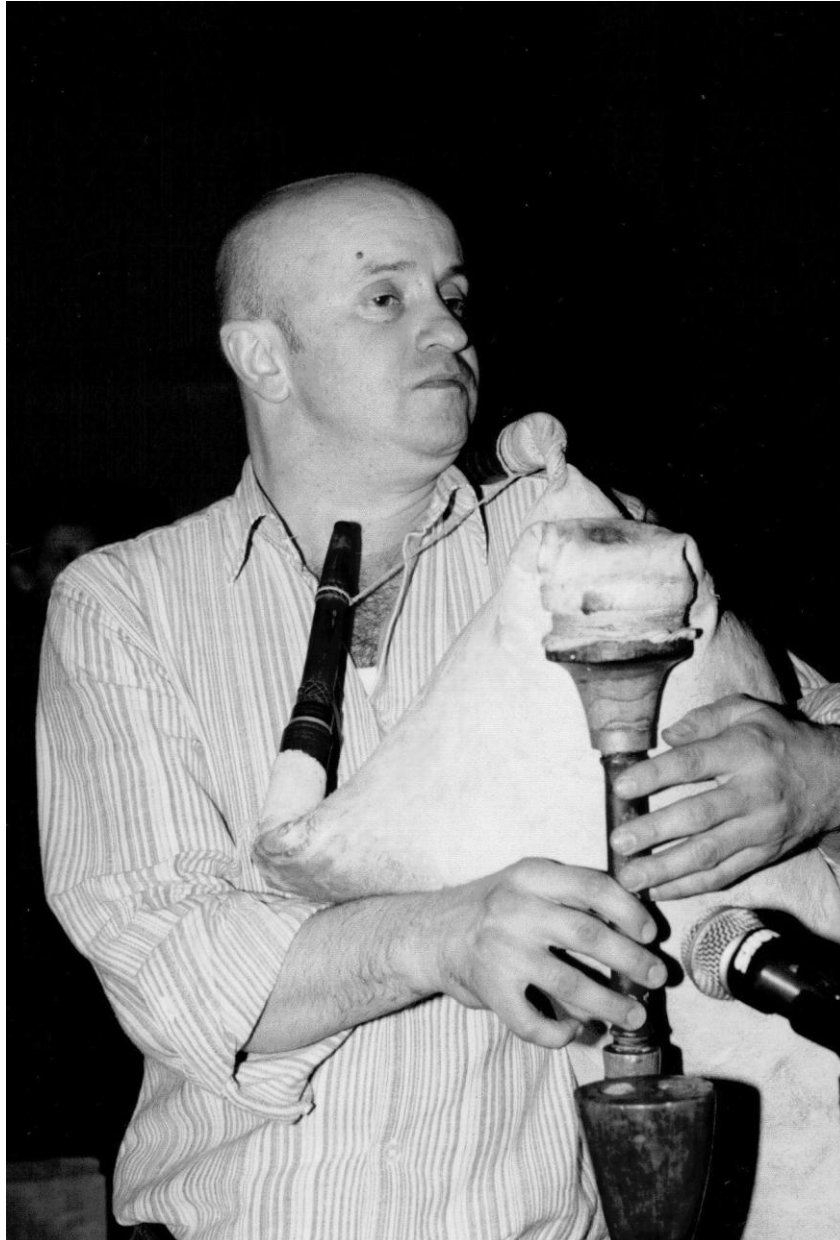


Plate 27.

Bokan Stanković in Hotel Srbija during the 1990s (above) and on concert (Bokan on the right) with Goran Bregović and the Weddings and Funeral Orchestra (below).



6.2 The Use of Tradition: Music Knowledge and the Restitution of Nationalism

Although one might think that post-socialist Serbia was in fact less modern than it was before Milošević's rule, the natural progress of foreign media, information and products from the "imaginative" West filtered through. Modern conditions in Serbia provoked different reactions viable in the public life. The most frequent reaction consisted of the equivalent if not more intense inflow of (negative) nationalism by religious, primitive and aggressive (anti)cultural biases, which were generally misconceived with notions of patriotism among ordinary people. As Serbia was challenged to re-cultivate and once again reaffirm and adjust to the values of the modern European societies, it was more persistent to distant itself from it. During the 1990s, Serbia developed closed systems of social functioning where culture was anarchic and where people were sedated by "pink" media and overwhelming kitsch. The Church also played a tremendously important part in this sensitive period because it was a factor of unity and an instance whose axiomatic advice no one ever dared to be question. This was mainly based on the projections of the past where the Serbian Orthodox Church, as the only surviving national institution during Ottoman occupation, became the "guardian of Serbian culture" and one of the main carriers of Serbian national identity (Clark, 2008:129).

Although I do not intend to point to general responsibility, some authorities of the Church had an impact on recreating negative Serbian nationalism. As Mandić puts it, "in a culture dominated by nationalist indoctrination at all levels of society, the novelty of these symbolic messages should not be underestimated" (2007:126). In Serbia, the Church also contributed to the fall of Milošević, who somehow had failed to create a greater Serbia and had abandoned the sacred battle for Kosovo as the majority of his followers believed. In other words, the Serbian Orthodox Church did condemn the war criminal but not because Milošević was a bad personae. Actually, the Church blamed him for not having been even worse (Perica, 2002:205). The more confidence in the government declined, the more the Church had an impact on people who were further empowered by the release of religious sentiments in the post-socialist

era. It also coincided with the silent division between two Europes, as Bohlman points out – Eastern “the Europe of parts” and Western “the Europe of whole” which was underlined more than ever at the turn of the 21st century (2004:14-15). Balancing between those two forces Serbia occupied a marginal location in wider European cultural stratifications.

In a small church in central Belgrade people used to gather frequently. Some came for religious reasons, some for the sake of conversation and socialising, and some just to be perceived as good Christians in the community. Besides the ordinary Liturgy, the Church was officially a place where people had the opportunity to inform on many issues of national importance and where people could train their Serbism or Christian religious fundamentalism (cf. Heywood, 1998). Born in Belgrade, at the sunset of Tito’s Yugoslavia, Spasoje Tufegdžić¹⁰⁴ was raised in a strictly traditional manner. One of the most evident signs of his early interests in music came with his basic training on the clarinet in the local music school. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, he still visited this church with his parents, only now he could do it without any of the previous constraints of the Communist Party. During the 1990s, Spasoje went to church where he met Vlada Simić, and although they were the same age Vlada was already a skilled musician, performing music on guitar, *tambura* and *gajde*. Spasoje admired him, and evidently wanted to be appreciated in the small church community in the same manner. However, he felt insecure and unconvinced that his skills could reach the same range. In 1994 Spasoje watched a movie entitled *Before the Rain*, a film that was produced in Macedonia. In its circular story structure, the movie actually comments on the issues and prejudices of the turbulent religious conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 1990s. The music, made by the Macedonian group *Anastasia* (Polygram, 1994) was supposed to convey pastoral atmosphere of the Balkans, where music has an individual but also a counterpart role in the entire narrative course of the film. After watching the movie, affected by both the story and the music that he had heard, Spasoje became infected by the sounds of a peculiar woodwind instrument called the *kaval*. Knowing that his Christian brother Vlada also played this folk instrument, he immediately asked to find him an instrument to play on. As soon as he got a *kaval*, Spasoje tried to produce a single tone

¹⁰⁴ According to recording materials: Spasoje Tufegdžić, recorded by Rastko Jakovljević, Belgrade, 06. 08. 2009 (see notes on fieldwork recordings).

through the open cylindrical body of this specific folk music instrument. However, neither his previous music experience of playing the clarinet, nor patient instructions from his friend Stole, who was an icon and fresco painter, helped him to do so. It was true agony at the beginning, and once he had established this delicate tone and specific mouth position, there were still difficulties to use other possible registers apart from the first three. When he felt confident to play in public, Spasoje wanted to present his music knowledge more widely. However, he lived in the brutalist blocks of New Belgrade, where significant subcultural groups of young people defined the public space in which Spasoje did not fit properly. "At that time my playing was a hobby and surely was not popular. Boys from block used to tease me about it, and I had a choice either to play within four walls or to play for KUD". By the time he finished high school, Spasoje was playing the *kaval* at several KUD's in Belgrade where his sister danced. Work with small ensembles never actually satisfied him, largely because the repertoires of those societies were unified with the performances of several influential KUD's in the country that dictated the actual forms and taste of staged folklore. What Spasoje was seeking was creativity and a living context in which traditional folk music could be maintained and developed. Since traditional culture was clearly in decline, gradually losing potential on a contextual level, and KUD's stage performances only offered sanitised folklore, the logical solution for Spasoje was to try something different.

The unfavourable social and economical situation in the nineties had forced many people to turn to alternative sources of income, while the service sector still kept in a sustained position. By the time Spasoje finished school he found a job at the local coffee shop in central Belgrade. Working as a waiter he had the opportunity to meet many people of whom some were well-known and influential, and this was probably one of the few positive things about this job. In one residential building nearby lived one of the well-known Serbian artist and musician Pavle Aksentijević (b. 1942). Actually, Pavle was gifted fresco painter who saw music to be complementing to the icons that he made. In his epitomised artistry, visual required audible and *vice versa*. Therefore, his historical approach to works that he produced signified strong reminiscence to the medieval Serbian period, observed on the icons and in chants which were a

specific cohesion of Byzantine church and rural folk music craft. This cohesion actually tended to reawaken nationalism and to establish new “desirable past”¹⁰⁵ according to most bright point of Serbian history which was endangered by later Ottoman rule (cf. Mijatović, 2003:209). On the other hand, any convincing reference to folklore tradition or to the past was an indispensable weapon for the rhetoric of nationalism (cf. Mandić, 2007:126). However, those strong reminiscence provoked Milošević’s regime, and Pavle reputation was socially discredited in a particular way. In 1990s official discourses his artistry was classified as undesirable, rejected and soon his work was stigmatised and set to the margins of the socially visible space. After the Fifth October Revolution, which brought changes in political course of Serbia, when Milošević was ousted from power, the opportunity for Pavle’s social restitution finally occurred. At the same moment, Spasoje met him and his son Rastko who were thinking about forming a musical group that would continue with ideas of Pavle’s previous interests and works. Music of the ethno ensemble or group called *Zapis* (The Inscription) was supposed to provide an alternative to the confused and devastated young population, and to interest audience about Serbian cultural background and history instead of leaving them with a choice of *turbo-folk*, which was dominant at the time. Although it was never verbalised in media, it seems that broader idea was to treat impoverished spirit of people by providing music which will be subtle and delicate, serving as a vehicle for re-establishing national identity, kept under the veils of the totalitarian Yugoslavian concept for many decades. By his belief, Spasoje fitted to such matrix and identified with the ideas of the modern invocation of strong and proud national past and modern stylisation which public desperately strived. Once again, music processes served for establishment of nationalism, disjuncting the difference between representation of music and representing the nation (after: Bohlman, 2003:50). In the group *Zapis* Spasoje firstly performed solos on *kaval* and *frula*, leaving sufficient space for Pavle’s interpretations which absolutely ensured credibility in public. Pavle’s sons Rastko and Damjan played lute string instruments like *tambura*, while Bojan Ivković played the membranophone percussions, mostly *goč* or *tapan*.

¹⁰⁵ The “desirable past” in this sense represents the “Byzantine-derived Great tradition of Orthodoxy in Serbian lands” (Živković, 2001:144), and aspirations towards reestablishing Serbia as a powerful nation state, as it had once been in the medieval period.

Soon Pavle and Spasoje came to the idea that the ensemble's instrumental corpus should be enriched with other wind instruments that once defined Serbian music practice and culture. Since bagpipes were adequate and incorporative to the broad image of Byzantine and folk Serbian identity, the idea was to find good *gajde* which Spasoje could play. Belgrade as the capital and most urban area in Serbia probably was not a good place to find such instrument, which made highly poor possibilities of doing so. However, Spasoje had luck as his father's relative told him about his neighbour who knew something about *gajde*. Surprisingly, the relative gave him also a business card of Aca Ristevski (b. 1930) that advertised him with words "I have a crane – I have a tractor – I have a harvester – I play *gajde*". "Surely this was a surprise" Spasoje concluded. Not until much later, Spasoje went to Aca's house in order to ask him about where he could find a good instrument. Aca was a settler from Macedonia who used to play *gajde* on weddings and *sabor's* in his homeland. As he came to Belgrade, it was natural for him to prequalify, which would provide a stable home economy for his family. For that reason, he spent more time working with mechanisation than he used to play, although he occasionally performed for local KUD. After explaining the reasons for his visit, Spasoje had his first lessons with Aca. He gave him to play his own *gajde*, but unfortunately Spasoje experienced difficulties with tone production because it seemed to him that "it felt like I am playing a clarinet in which someone else is blowing". Additionally, problems have spread to difficulties with movement coordination, which surprised him. The apprenticeship was not as easy, and Spasoje felt that the biggest problem was in fact that Aca could not realise how he should teach someone and how can anyone access and benefit from his unclear instructions. Spasoje asserted, "With him the communication was painful because he was on entirely different level, he spoke different language, and in his mind the whole thing was classified in a different way than in head of an educated musician". Truly, Aca could not have been aware of those facts because he was attached to traditional culture, a location in which he learned in a different manner. In the end, because of his lack and sufficient experience in conventional education, he was ill-prepared to educate someone else within that context. For a traditional player like Aca, it would have seemed unnecessary to acquire knowledge verbally, and this was the primary reason for the initial misunderstanding that arose when contact was made between traditional and modern

subjects. However, in a good spirit Aca promised that he could ask a friend from Prilep (Macedonia) to send him good *gajde*, although at very unreasonable price of 250 deutsche marks, which was a strong impact to average family budget at that time. Eventually, Spasoje got his *gajde* and returned to his four walls to make first independent rehearsals. The experiments were successful. However, Spasoje felt that he should acquire other knowledge in order to perform music for *Zapis* according to their wish and standards. After long hours spending on the internet, he noticed the recordings of Pece Atanasovski that were uploaded. His process of learning started by “skimming” Macedonian dances which Pece masterly performed. Being previously educated on clarinet, very quickly he rediscovered specific ornamentation, which is characteristic for *gajde* performance. According to Spasoje’s beliefs, the skills of the celebrity performer Pece Atanasovski ideally demonstrated how *gajde* should be played – with moderate use of expressive tools and without overreacting with ornaments, as he noticed. However, most difficult practical aspect was to establish the sense and logic of particular hand postures – “griffs” which Spasoje named after analogies of the guitar technique. By this term he implied not only special hand positions and practical aspects that the player should articulate, but also mode changes that affects musical structure itself – from major to minor or oriental (*hijaz*), and expressive tools such as “sustained” tones as Spasoje defines single tone vibratos. After self-training period he returned to Aca in order to obtain substantial information and to systematise his experiences and knowledge that he gained. However, lessons were not successful and the gap in cultural sense was preventing Spasoje to facilitate further understanding. While Aca was focusing on the melody and music *per se*, Spasoje was trying to locate schematised hand postures that would ease his technique and subsequently his performance which itself was perceived and understood from the perspectives of the modern musician, tending to trace the process between technique and music interpretation. The difference between those two poles of knowledge acquisition in nature pointed to the difference between two learning processes, priorities and habits – one that is traditional, tacit and music-centered and other (technique as a product of music), modern which was led by gradual moves from technique, verbal explanations and conventional or formal educational methods to music performance as a result of the previous. Gradually Spasoje reached desirable skill levels that gave him the confidence to

perform music in public. Music pieces which *Zapis* made were designed as modern adaptation of songs which ethnographers and ethnomusicologist collected in the past. Therefore, their intervention with tradition got closer to musemising profile that compensated the lack of governmental interest in this particular field. As these songs were performed and later transcribed in pure vocal form, the modernised versions in Pavle's image had to provide only instrumentation and subtle arrangements upgrades, which would enhance the potentials of vocal medium, without compromising the initial music identity. Therefore, the modern adaptation remained within the boundaries of traditional modes of identity appropriation, sometimes purely by songs migration into a new medium, or by supporting the vocal medium, and form which followed the rules of amplification. Although these songs were not originally accompanied with *gajde*, new modernised version of song's performance supposed that the instrumental transitions should amplify melodic potentials of the main music material of the vocal line and therefore simulate the response in instrumental medium (ex. 41). In fact, the result was that the song's identity was preserved, while modern elements improved the form without jeopardising the integrity of initial identity. However, achievements of this appropriation were also extramusical, and they could be distinguished by sensing the location in created specific Balkan sonic space and in time where the atmosphere of the medieval "old" Serbia points to particular historical momentum and condition. In this specific situation, *gajde* were treated as one of the productive lines which contributes to the establishment of general music idea, and therefore the main function in such context was to equally invest into broad narrative form of the particular music product. On the other hand, with its sonic resemblance, it makes references that qualify this product as traditional, authentic and eventually ethnic or maybe even patriotic to some extent. The fact that mentioned results and qualifications meet the needs of a broad social structure, Spasoje found inspiring to work with *Zapis* because it was a significant experience for his further music skills development, and even more because such music also satisfied his intimate attitudes, feelings and personal orientations.

6.3 Symbolic Noise: The Status of the Instrumental Body in a Marginalising Context

In the postmodern condition, folk music was subordinated to the rules of the market. The profile, style, appearance, deployment and the quality of music are governed or dictated by strict instructions of the instances involved in the production chain – media and publishers. These conditions forced people to pursue a balance between aspirations and practical possibilities for their music at all times. However, success does not mean that the artist, performer, composer or even production company will benefit and ensure economic support for their work. More, it meant that they will achieve social recognition and popularity and, for a time, secure a reasonable standard of living, though without long-term security. As one of the most frequent images of the contemporary presence of this rural instrument in Serbia, this chapter stresses the features of the music in which the *gajde* appear, not as an essential constituent of the soundscape, but as a visual symbol or symbolic sound element. Because of this, the instrument and its sound potentials have been marginalised by a saturated soundscape.

Working with *Zapis* Spasoje had benefits that included practical solutions for sustaining music and a space for personal development in the music business. However, in order to secure a reasonable monthly income, he had to turn to the most profitable part of the current market and music industry. Additionally, working in music studios, Spasoje recorded solos for many *turbo-folk* singers and their hyper-productive *estrada*.¹⁰⁶ What producers wanted was simply to repeat several motifs on traditional instruments in order to supply the product with an “authentic” Serbian folk sound. More often, people would not care what, in fact, he was playing, so the type of instrument used for that purpose would vary and depend on *ad hoc* agreement, while the melody was instantly recycled from the music material of the main theme (solo) or from the chorus line motifs. However, because of the fact that such additional work

¹⁰⁶ On the recommendation of several music producers during his active career with *Zapis* Spasoje recorded *gajde* solos for many *turbo-folk* singers such as Jelena Karleuša, Maja Marijana, Bojan Bjelić, Đogani etc.

was paid rather symbolically, while *turbo-folk* singers could earn even several thousands of euros per single two-hour show in the diaspora, Spasoje draw back from studio work career. Further course of his musicianship, which will be explained, led him to what could be considered a negative point in his life and professional engagement with music that offers an insight into the anatomy of the Serbian ethno music scene.

Even today Serbian music scene called *estrada* is structured from almost ninety percent *turbo-folk* singers and only ten percent those who cover a wide range of various miscellaneous genres, including pop, rock, rap, electro, ethno or world music and many other popular genres which forms an alternative music strata. In an economic sense, such a scene had difficulties with financing and earned much less than mainstream music. Therefore, the alternative music scene relies on pure enthusiasm and a small audience which recognises them and identifies with the music that they make. However, only a few people could make a significant income with ethno music and those cases could loosely be described as music that to large extent flirts with *turbo-folk*.

The dawn of the new century in Serbia brought many changes, which affected the social structure and overall atmosphere of people's lives. Revolution occurred on fifth of October 2000. It was a sign of the fall of Milošević's regime, a turn to European and Western norms and values that were not superficial like before, when the only contact with the West was going to McDonald's restaurants and watching foreign news coverage for those who had satellite television. The rise of democracy and new capitalism in the depressed and retarded society of a country like Serbia was at the time born of a hope for a better tomorrow and a long-awaited return to international circles. Coincidentally or not, a hope encouraged people to widen their perspectives and to open up for changes that affected the music scene also. Previously working as a composer of rock and pop music, at a time when such music had a developed market and economy, under Milošević's regime, Sanja Ilić had very small chances of earning a living. His excursions into film and theatre music had achieved rather significant success, but were quickly forgotten in the whirlpools of hyperproduction, kitsch and the state ubiquitous "backward" culture. Possibly not knowing that the political situation was going to change, he started to

work on a music project that would bring him closer to something that was much more profitable, and at the same time make some kind of a compromise with his former compositional work. His strong connections in the media made it easier to secure a good public reception of his new pragmatic project named *Balkanika*. While more experienced musicians were already situated in similar music groups, *Balkanika* intentionally gathered younger anonymous singers and players in order to accomplish two main goals – first to create a specific energy and image of publically unknown or less known musicians, and secondly, to reduce costs and find people more willing to toe the line. On matters of style, music expression should justify the orientation suggested by the name *Balkanika*, thus focusing on the sounds of Balkan music(s) as a primary factor of identification. In addition to several female singers who sang melodies with specific rural style and timbre (similar to *Le Mystere des Voix Bulgares* and Bregović's *Weddings and Funerals Orchestra*), Sanja Ilić included instrumental players to make a sonic and visual resemblance to the idealistic image of Balkan music. It was in fact quite a natural result since the entire idea proposed to foster “soft cultural forms” which could permit “relatively easy separation of embodied performance from meaning and value, and relatively successful transformation at each level” (Appadurai, 1996:90). After brief cooperation with Slobodan Trkulja, an academic clarinetist and multi-instrumental performer who initially played *gajde* for *Balkanika*, Sanja Ilić tried to find an adequate and long-term replacement. While he was still performing with *Zapis*, Spasoje joined *Balkanika* and became one of the musicians associated with the project. From the first moment, he noticed that the entire *Balkanika* concept was significantly different in comparison with *Zapis*. Firstly, the focus was not on music itself, but on the assets that such music comprises in a visual sense. The *gajde*, female singers in stylised modern folk costumes portrayed as dancing and singing bodies, lights, amplifiers, sequencers and other technical equipment served to differentiate music in conditions of the spectacle. Hence, the music *per se* served more as a visual sensation, a resounding image intended to stimulate audience, rather than to focus on the qualities of the musical work or mere sound.

Spasoje also found tremendously difficult to perform without a certain degree of freedom. The creator, Sanja Ilić actually used to make music of materials that would resemble folk melodies, or simplified traditional songs that would please an audience now used to recognising and valuing simplicity over quality. Actually, what Sanja wanted was to address the larger audience that used to listen to *turbo-folk* and therefore to make his music communicational to certain target groups. Spasoje was terrified by the idea that a music group should work as any other entrepreneurial “firm”, thinking and feeling that the entire creative process was excluded from this commodified concept. “The works were inspired by some existing recordings but greatly simplified. My only job was to play the exact thing that was prescribed, so I didn’t have any freedom. I didn’t like that kind of music!” Spasoje explained.

At a concert on Kalemegdan (Belgrade Fortress), Spasoje performed a composition *New gajde* (ex. 42) which could serve as a paradigmatic case that identifies the status of the musician, the instrument and music in the specific context of music performed by *Balkanika*. The opening section is marked by a distinctive initial formula of *gajde* performance, with moderate usage of “sustained” articulation or single tone vibratos. What is evident from this example is that the specific performance required the drone exclusion because of potential mixtures with corresponding tonal shifts that were made during the piece. For the same reason, the exposition of the main *gajde* melodic line was followed by clarinet and violin, in order to accomplish modulation and transition to a contrasting part of the piece, which could not be accomplished with *gajde* because of their inability to make modulations without a change of *gajdenica*. For *Balkanika* performances Spasoje used Bulgarian small *gaida* since their constructional features ease continuous tuning of the instrument. Additionally, fabricated metal or plastic reeds used in the *gaida* also affect tuning condition and prevent further difficulties during performance, and therefore seen as more appropriate for live concert performances. Focusing on other aspects of representation, this example points to the additional potential of the music performed by *Balkanika*. The imagination of the Balkan music was achieved by distinctive instrumental solos, performed on *gajde*, which were further supplemented with particular and distinctive folk-style vocal arrangements. The entire piece or

composition by its anatomy in fact represents a collage of different musical entities that binds a pseudo-traditional tune played on *gajde*, composed song¹⁰⁷ and additional fragments sung in neutral vocals, performed by female singers, and clarinet and violin lines, mainly included in transitional parts of the form. The corpus demonstrates cohesion of different symbolical levels of identification. Synthesiser and bass guitar correspond to the sound and image of the popular, the violins and clarinet have been used as adopted symbols of the classical, while the *gajde* and female folk singers mark the presence of folk music.

Although this is only one of the many compositions made by *Balkanika*, it could essentially exemplify and point to those rules and agencies that formed particular folk music representation and symbolically communicate with the audience by visual and sonic means. Therefore, the conclusion is that in such a context, the *gajde* are manipulated and used as a primarily visual symbol, the hallmark of the traditional, while the sound was reduced and woven into a carpet of sound perplexity. Furthermore, representation of the musician in such conditions shows that the figure has been stripped of all its potential, and the instrumental body now served as an advertising mannequin rather than a figure of authority steeped in the traditions of the past. After almost a decade of stage performance and the negative effects that *Balkanika* had on his musical development, Spasoje decided to withdraw from *estrada* and to pursue other professional possibilities. On the other side, *Balkanika* tried to hire another *gajde* player and found Gale who (un)fortunately was not suitable for this position because of the lack of understanding of the needs of commercial music. Not only was a village musician like Gale unsuitable for the position, he also failed to meet the demands of Sanja Ilić who required him to learn notation so he could perform for *Balkanika*. Since Gale could not overcome obstacles and such conditions, he withdraw after two rehearsals. Instead of supporting an endangered tradition that needs to be revitalised through particular music, *Balkanika's* aspirations were oriented towards pure spectacle and economic success. Locating the results and affects of such practice on a broader scale, it is evident that traditional folk music and especially *gajde* as an

¹⁰⁷ The text and melody used in *New gajde* resembles a fragment of traditional song. "Moma vodu nosila sa vrela na prelo. Uhvati je mlado momče, kvasnu mu odelo" (en. lit. "A maid carried water from the spring to the working women. She was caught by a young boy and she wet his clothes").

instrument were marginalised by such severe treatment. Music potential reduced to the level of noise may perhaps be justified to exploit the habits of people who, by nature, respond to loudness, either because of their *turbo-folk* experiences of noise, or their past ritual, and traditional folk music that is therefore transmitted as habitual experience placed in the modern context. However, whatever the reasons might be, the outcome was that the *gajde* as an instrument was retained more as a symbol than as a true object of traditional folk music. In this condition, the musical instrument has also been used as a visual symbol with symbolic sonic potential, rather than as a distinctive element of the musical process. In conclusion, it seems clear that the location of the particular practice was not central to the performative act of music or to public (audience) or even personal experience, but significantly marginalised in cultural and performative terms.

Plate 28.

Spasoje Tufegdžić on live performance on Kalemegdan (left) and Aleksandar Sanja Ilić and the Balkanika album cover (right).



6.4 The Paradox of Automarginalisation

The nature, practice, music, musicianship, context and many other aspects of *gajde* traditional practice or tradition and culture became eroded through time. Given the circumstances, the loss seemed inevitable as the world we are living in has changed and drastically evolved. However, in other conditions, people have used tradition to achieve social recognition, without being aware that what they are doing could be extremely detrimental for the objects of their concern and the values that they are trying to preserve. Such a paradoxical position opens a new direction in the interpretation of marginalised music in Serbia and the aim of this chapter is to indicate the possible use of *gajde* music in the wider context of current socio-cultural conditions.

Since stakeholders of traditional *gajde* practice in Northern Serbia/Vojvodina gradually declined from the scenes of everyday life, the situation was devastating and eventually the number of players declined to zero. It is now in the past. However, as more people began to use technology, living their modern lives in densely populated urban areas, the more they craved to return to nature, tradition and the mythologies which in a fantastic sense people now experienced in rather fetishist ways. The KUD's, festivals, the State Ensemble, *Bregović Weddings and Funeral Orchestra*, *Balkanika* and many other cultural and music phenomena in which traditional folk culture was represented, were actually fed by human desire to reach an ideal and tranquil image of folklore so they could identify and feel authentic in a uniform modern world. As the civil sector in the new democratic Serbia grew stronger, the Ministry of Culture and governmental institutions tried to bring some order and priorities to the financing of excessive numbers of Houses of Culture and similar local institutions in which folklore was maintained. The reasons were that the financial system could not effectively support the large number of those institutions, left over from Tito's Yugoslavia. Moreover, the finance systems today encourage initiatives of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) which apply for project funding, and which allows the Ministry and Government to save on funding that previously

supported huge numbers of official cultural administrations and other cultural institutions at local or governmental levels. In modern terms, those institutions are still affiliated with governmental or local authorities, but they are in practice treated as NGOs, which are supposed to apply for funding for their specific programs. Festivals and other initiatives also became a part of this large network, while at the same time many other active or inactive small organisations were established in order to produce projects and programs of various kinds, mostly in the domains of cultural preservation and cultural heritage.

A bulletin of the national *Sabor in Topola* 2007 enunciated some of the results of the new local Festival *Ivanjsko cveće* (Midsummer Flowers), which was held in the small town of Sivac (Vojvodina) and organised by the local House of Culture. The main idea of this newborn festival was to present their interest in folk culture and to establish social recognition and authority by stating that the manifestation is supposed to act as “a protector of the tradition of the Indigenous Vojvodinian Serbs” (Jovanović, 2007:12). Realising that *gajde* in Serbia and especially in Vojvodina were marginalised and had passed into history, on the third night, the organisers came out with a program entitled *S gajdašima do zore* (With *gajde* players Until Dawn) where ten players were supposed to perform traditional folk music.¹⁰⁸ The key person responsible for this program was the director of the House of Culture in Sivac, Maksim Mudrinić (b. 1952), who defines himself as “one of the last *gajdaš* in Vojvodina”.¹⁰⁹ Working before as an employee of the local House of Culture in Sivac, Maksim understood that in his small town there had been seven *gajde* players in the past, and that now nobody continued to perform. Knowing that he was interested in folklore, one of the late player’s wives gave Maksim a *gajde* so he could play them, believing that it would have an effect on lost tradition. Learning journey was hard because there were no living players who could teach him how to use the *gajde*, so he

¹⁰⁸ In largely optimistic and affirmative tone the author of the article, ethnomusicologist Jelena Jovanović asserted that “the idea of organising such music event itself has been extremely attractive” not just for professionals but for audience as well (2007:12). She added that similar projects such as the attempts of the Serbian Ethnomusicological Society (SED) to organise an international festival of bagpipes in Belgrade eventually failed because of insufficient support of the Governmental institutions (Ibid.).

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Maksim Mudrinić, *Vojvodina kao drugi svet* (Vojvodina as the Other World), Radio Television Vojvodina – TV Production 021, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=In7XkDUp6ao&feature=related> Retrieved: 10. 04. 2012.

eventually learned to perform music by himself. Maksim got additional information from Branislav Zarić, a lawyer from Kikinda who used to play *gajde*, in whom Maksim saw a figure who represented a link between old generations of *gajdaš* and himself, as a follower and a missionary for the new ones. However, new conditions and context only provided Maksim a chance to play for folklore groups or KUD's, without any particular interest among younger population for *gajde*. His repertoire focused mainly on songs with technical features that matched his musical skills, which could be described as modest. Large and previously dominant dance repertoire, difficult songs and tunes unfortunately were not a part of this, and his skills did not appear natural but tensely learned (Stokes, 1994:22). There were no living players in Vojvodina that had enough experience, while the recordings and information were kept in institutions that are not generally open for enthusiasts.¹¹⁰ Somehow, the main idea that was apparent was that his motivation in fact justified his musical representation. Acknowledging this, the musicianship and skills which he possessed could not be qualified differently and therefore only considered as the natural outcome of the given circumstances. In a new situation, where the NGO's prevailed, Maksim realised that his engagement with *gajde* could also be a lucrative business, given the fact that he was one of the last players. From that grain, he developed projects that stressed the endangered *gajde* tradition in particular, and the possibilities for future revival, which would ensure him continuous financial stability and credibility as leader of his House of Culture. The proposal suggested several seminars, designed primarily for KUD artistic producers under which special courses were planned for learning the *gajde*.¹¹¹ Most of the players from the festival *Ivanjsko cveće*, mentioned at the beginning, got their first contact, impressions and practical experience of *gajde* from those seminars, bearing in mind that most of the participants already played some musical instrument, such as clarinet or trumpet. The participants acquired knowledge of music, skills and crafts by observing music

¹¹⁰ The official institutions that maintain archive materials of traditional music are: the Institute of Musicology SASA, Faculty of Music in Belgrade, Radio Television Serbia and Vojvodina, the Museum of Vojvodina and Matica Srpska. Also, many local radio stations, personal collections and cultural institutions preserve materials of traditional music, however they are not completely registered.

¹¹¹ Each seminar lasted for several days. The first was held in Novi Sad (2003), second on Panonija (2005) and the third in Vrdnik (2007). At the first seminar the lecturers were Maksim Mudrinić and Branislav Zarić while Maksim continued to work in the future by himself. Age range of the participants was from those born in 1972 – Slobodan Beljanski to 1993 – Filip Jović (cf. Jovanović, 2007).

in the limited range of few simple melodies and tuning procedures, which would cover the aspects of skills, while they experienced craft work by making reeds and simple aerophones. Commenting on the seminar achievements, Jovanović asserts that the KUD's had actually enabled the participants to apprehend folk music, which she saw as positive – “an important fact was that they [participants] had developed their musical knowledge and experience during their work in KUD's” (2007:13). However, the extent to which the younger generations could develop their musical knowledge within the KUD structure is debatable. Indeed, it is possible to take quite the opposite view; KUD and similar mechanisms in modern society function as recidives that followed the guidelines shaped by communist ideologies which, whether by accident or design, excommunicated and marginalised the *gajde*. Furthermore, such a position in fact denies the entire process of folklore transmission/knowledge acquisition, which is based on specific acts that place the learning process in its natural condition, as was explained before. More likely, the entire idea of the seminar was more or less a chance for the participants to museumise their own practice in particular laboratory conditions, rather than to induce a revival. Moreover, the achievements of this intervention could only make an impact and results for the economy of the entire project, seemingly standing in contradiction to what in fact should offer. In the further development of his career, Maksim also focused on other aspects that used tradition rather than supported it. From previous chapters one could understand the fact that in traditional terms the instruments were mostly given as a token of understanding, for those who recognised specific values, engagement and appreciation for such craft. As Maksim learned how to make (fabricate) *gajde* he was in a particularly good position as the only one in the entire country that had the knowledge to make the Banat variant of this instrument. From many who tried to make first steps in performing on the *gajde*, he developed quite a significant market and hence financial benefit from this monopolistic position. From conversations with some younger *frula* players who expressed an interest in learning to play the *gajde*, it seems that the price of a Banat variant *gajde* made by Maksim could cost an average monthly income in Serbia. Compared to the situation and market averages, another national instrument – the *frula* could be found for a reasonable price, and even from the best and most expensive craftsman it would not reach even 20 percent of the an average monthly

income. This particular fact made even more difficulties and was discouraging for young people who were interested in engaging with *gajde* music practice. In fact, the case shows that in this condition, engagement with music transfigures into a role congruent to vocation.¹¹² Understanding the nature of the problem, this case is paradoxically one of the key factors of marginalisation whose effects need to be questioned further.

Music repertoire that Maksim performs on *gajde* is problematic for many reasons. Firstly, as technical features of his skills prevent access to the more difficult dance repertoire, which is characterised by specific rules of performative nature (expressivity, turns and variations), the corpus of his repertoire relies on songs. The formation of the repertoire is therefore caused by his music skills in which song oriented repertoire facilitates improvisation, which subsequently allows him to commodify and perform the same song in many different ways that further might depend on the situation. Therefore, his music-making process is limited by his highly idiosyncratic potential. A musical repertoire such as this is arbitrary, and instead of reflecting the spectrum of traditional folk music in any way, it is closer to a commodified personal view of a tradition that he is trying to imagine. To a large extent, those specifics coincide with the crisis of expressivity distinguished in Appadurai's critique where "the imagination has broken out of the special expressive space of art, myth, and ritual and has now become a part of the quotidian mental work of ordinary people in many societies" (1996:5). However, it is not just imagination and expressivity that are endangered here, but the actual identity and identification of music skill/craft under particular conditions. Decrying the traditional practice by closing off from the cosmopolitan world music movement and by extracting music in terms that serve to his skill levels, such a position, "ignored the long history of such music" (Buchanan, 1996:207) and commodified a large part of the particular music identity. Since song performances were free from any constant rhythmical structural orderings, the "errors", which might occur during performance, could be justified and covered by the distinctive

¹¹² Sennett points that the meaning of vocation conveys gradual accumulation of knowledge and skills in conviction that one is meant to do such particular thing in his life (2008:263). Under this proposal one could be aware of the differences of vernacular players who defined their music activities as a form of communication, mediation and social/cultural engagement therefore not as a vocation in this sense.

improvisational character of the piece and by the amorphous time required for its formation in real situation. Another part of this problem is that his music marginalises instrumental over vocal lines. The domination of the vocal line in Vojvodinian *gajde* tradition once was considered to be only a side manifestation of this practice, mostly characteristic of humorous forms of *bećarac* that were a part of the wedding ceremony (see §3.2.1). In conditions of Maksim's performance, all songs played or accompanied on *gajde* now resemble the *bećarac* form, because of marginal undeveloped or reduced instrumental transitions and predominant function of the vocal line. The result of this practice was that the entire piece became a vocal expression, only amplified by the particular sounds of the *gajde*. Probably the best example of this treatment could be observed in one of Maksim's performative acts. One of the most prominent manifestations *Ethno.com* in Pančevo aspires to popularise traditional music and culture. The festival recently introduced *gajde* as a main topic and Maksim presented his art with a performance that was intriguingly entitled *The Ballad of the Lost Instrument*. In this project, he tried to place and present traditional music in a stage form known as *igrokaz*, which in fact was an artistic combination of play-acting, storytelling and folk music. As storytelling was in the first plan in this specific piece, Maksim used the *gajde* primarily as a visual symbol, paraphernalia rather than a true musical instrument. In this particular case, the act of performance was determined as playing *with* music rather than representing what playing music is in fact (cf. Sennett, 2008:268-270). Equal attention has been given to his rural costume and the *gajde* that he "dressed" in a national flag, an appearance distant from the figure that once was distinctive in the traditional culture. Moreover, the stories that commented on details of the peasant's life and pastoral atmosphere were accompanied by unimpressive motifs, achieving the effects of the background noise performed on *gajde*, which misused and marginalised not only the instrument, but also music itself by presenting the wrong image of a particular tradition/practice to the audience (ex. 43). What also seemed inappropriate was that the instrument was used in an artificial context which neither represented the qualities of skill, music craft and the figure of the traditional musician, nor showed the potentials of the instrument, repertoire diversity or music-making process in conditions of modern adaptation. The culture bearer and his "staged authenticity" failed to represent music, or to ensure

credibility and “ethnographic purity outside the native setting” (Trimillos, 2004:38) which should be relevant to such a project, to his music performance and its resemblance to indigenous music. The result of this interference therefore is a music that is marginalised by the very subject who presents it. Therefore, automarginalisation should be also considered as one of the many facets of the process of decline of this particular music tradition. From the situations discussed, one can conclude that the endangered music failed to be adequately presented or visible to the social environment and that the tradition was reduced to narrow areas of interest governed by projects achievements that had mainly economic purposes.

Plate 29.

Maksim Mudrinić, village of Sivac (Bačka, Vojvodina).



6.5 Privatised Music as a Specific Marginal Condition

Going further into areas where music becomes entwined with interest, it is intriguing that project-oriented politics may help to elucidate the actual position of *gajde* practice and marginalised musicians as its practitioners in contemporary Serbian society. As a result, this chapter outlines another aspect of automarginalisation, a process now defined by specific relationship of the subject (the player) towards his own participation in the culture of which he is a part.

From different positions many local institutions such as museums, municipal offices and NGOs have organised events and projects designed to “treat” almost invisible traditional folk musics and musicians, giving them attention and space and somehow proclaiming their existence. This actually means that the particular projects officially exist to address the public and to express specific concern for traditional culture, or to recreate or “reinvent” their tradition as Hobsbawm points out (1983). Hard times face people who live in remote areas, which means that the support for projects in the field of humanities is hard to attract within the given financial framework. Furthermore, like many the practitioners of traditional, local, endangered and marginal culture have lost confidence in politicians and politics in general, knowing that official politics are mostly concentrated on the capital Belgrade rather than any other city or village in Serbia.¹¹³ This has added to their reluctance to take part in projects that would involve their participation without any financial benefit. The economy has languished while the opportunities for performance and pleasure are reduced to a few visits to the *kafana* and even fewer local events and festivals, which were more focused on the estimated results of the projects than on the continuity of traditional practices. For these reasons, a large number of former musicians, dancers and singers refused to take part in such public events because they

¹¹³ In 2010 Vlachs from North-eastern Serbia institutionalised the existence of this small ethnic community in Serbia following the formation of the Vlachian National Council under competence of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights. This event, though in fact positive, ran into major disagreements among Vlachs because some believe that the whole process was politicised and that some instances were representing the views of Serbian authorities instead of Vlachian ones.

believed that their participation and effort could only bring benefit to those who organise and not those who in fact produced the programme.

In a part of the most undeveloped regions in Serbia lives one of the last *cărabăș*. The Vlachian player *moșu* (grandpa) Vanuță Cărabășu¹¹⁴ is situated in a small and hardly accessible village of Topolnica, in the Majdanpek municipality. In an old-style house, that has no electricity or water, he still performs music for those who know how to find him, which mostly comes down to a circle of friends and relatives. Understanding the difficulties mentioned above, Paun Es Durlić,¹¹⁵ an ethnographer of Vlachian origin, working for the Museum of Majdanpek made a project *The Last Orpheys of the Balkans* focused on the endangered culture, artefacts and subjects of the Vlachian community in Serbia. Searching for more individual perspectives that would interpret Vlachian culture today, Durlić and his colleagues interviewed several singers and musicians with the objective of recording information on various aspects of traditional culture and music to provide a record of those people for the next generations in most direct form of individual experience. What motivated them was, in fact, what lies at the heart of every ethnomusicological agenda – to experience music, to interpret it and to generate discourse around those experiences, as Martin Clayton asserts (2003:58). Among other musicians, in 2007 he recorded the *cărabă* player Vanuță, who talked about his life and music repertoire comprising old songs and dances, and of the music that people used to practice over the years. Located in-between, such a condition marked his identity as marginalised, a figure comprised of various identities, trying to keep his own native tradition and culture, and also trying to get in touch or accept elements of the “new culture”, in this case modernity (cf. §2.2).

Since Vanuță is in bad health, seemingly segregated from civilisation, now he performs his music in a more private setting than he used to before, when village public life was vivid and alive. The habits that he now has caused him to become more introvert and suspicious of strangers. He refuses to talk in Serbian and to give any interviews without large sums of money

¹¹⁴ Official (Serbian) name is Jovan Makulović. His Vlachian version of the last name is derived from the instrument that he plays (Vlachian *cărabă*).

¹¹⁵ The project outcomes and other materials collected by Paun Es Durlić are presented on the web page <http://www.paundurlic.com/> (Retrieved: 16. 07. 2011).

and cigarettes that still are expensive for local village markets. The ethnographer, being of Vlachian origins himself, knowing the language and being well informed of the situation nevertheless convinced Vanuță to give a brief interview and to record several tunes on the *cărabă*. In addition to poor explanations, Vanuță played music on his *cărabă* and one of the tunes he performed was *zorile*, a tune for the deceased (ex. 44) now performed for the recording and for investigation instead of to demonstrate his skills and specific music identity with the status of Divine marginality as was explained above (see §3.1.4). The melody of *zorile* was slightly different from the one that his compatriot Van Brândușan used to perform three decades ago (see §3.3.1). However, although differences could be explained as reasonable features of individual style, the performance shows a greater resemblance in the closing sections where the Vlachian *recto tono* is prominent, meaning that the closing sections, ones that are most strict in a performative sense, are the last to change in this genre and specific melodic configuration. The main difference, what could be defined as one of the results of this, in fact marginalising treatment, is that the music is pulled from the public to the private domain, a circle which reduces the chances for further development, and distant influences that such music should have on other players and audience, and eventually questions the very survival of this specific cultural practice. Since traditional music has primarily lost its context, one must be aware that one of the possibilities is for music to continue life under the laboratorial conditions of ethnographers, ethnomusicologist and other collectors, which all treat and define this music as living and potent, while the objective situation could show that the truth is quite the contrary. Traditional music in fact has been privatised. Being the representative of marginal culture, his music practice became fossilised, without the interaction, change or communication, which his music would demonstrate if it were functioning under normal conditions. However, being ethnically cleansed from any Other influences, it was also inverting the relationship between centre and margins, now consciously being *in-between* hegemonic superculture and his Vlachian marginal culture (cf. Born-Hesmondhalgh, 2000:22). As a kind of subversion, he emphasised his marginal identity more than would have been natural under the conditions of traditional culture in the past. The revolt and location in the (post)modern condition only induced the reproduction of identity, forming a

hypertrophic image of the Vlachian difference and emphasising that difference at all times. However, being recognised as a constitutional cultural minority, a specific ethnicity, the difference *in-between* in such context became absurd and obsolete. For those reasons Vanuță and his music craft only represent a strictly museumised image of marginalised musical culture, which he represents for specific purposes and which is largely differentiated from music that is performed and maintained in a still sustainable context by other members of his community. As a musician, the player and his marginalised music have become the subject of ethnomusicological research rather than something that should be experienced as music situated and maintained under live social conditions and as a powerful public medium.

On a broader scale, individual music craft has the same resemblance to the world that surrounds him being, from modern perspectives and conditions in which other musicians exist, positioned and qualified as too static, strict and impotent. The actual location of his craft therefore, in reality, comprises many levels – central points that refer to his marginalised location which shift the perspectives for perceiving those marginalities. Going from large to smaller points this cycle involves shifts from (i) the point of the actual position of the Serbian community in a more global sense, (ii) of locations, areas and local settings inside that society – emphasising the marginalised status of vernacular/rural vs. urban, which defines cultural marginality, (iii) of the location of the Vlachian minority (ethnicity and marginal culture) (iv) of the marginalised *gajde* tradition itself, and finally (v) of his own location in the given local culture in which he performs his marginal identity and his marginalised music at an intracultural level. Given the fact that Vanuță lives in isolated conditions where changes are not easily permeable, his music could be understood as one of the authentic residuals of marginal Vlachian ethnicity, traditional culture and marginalised music itself, which overall forms a multilayered marginal phenomena in its specific conditions.

6.6 The Artist Deprived of Art: Capturing Private Music as Public Commodity*

Comparing it to the traditional past, one can see how traditional *gajde* music and its players have declined, first disappearing from the public scene and then from this world, causing this specific musical practice to become eroded and eventually to dissolve. Being a practice without its main carriers, a distinctive culture also began to disappear with them. There are still some musicians who have found other ways and environments in which to engage with specific music. Others, however, have simply stayed in their marginalised position, refusing to become involved with the new conditions and, at least internally, have returned to a previous location where such practice and tradition still existed. The next case that will be examined shows, in specific and apparent ways how traditional musician is located within situations that arise from their marginal position, a location between desirable, imaginative, traditional and contemporary culture. It will show how the two scopes of marginal music can be exposed in one case. The focus therefore is directed towards explaining the positions of subjectified, intracultural variation in the broad setting of (post)modern society. Narratives are located in not so distant past, but they are transhistorical by nature. By it I presume that music experience and its representation in such condition tends to bring two historical instances on one particular location – past experience, which formed particular music and present experience which defines music in its own, new terms. Such a position relies greatly on ideas where “individual musical experience is mediated by a history and a memory of previous experience” (Rice, 1994:301). In addition, this example shows how historically constructed identity and experience are mixed with sediments of the new contextual condition which situated this marginalised music. A significant feature of this process is of course the music itself, examined as an embodied sign rather than as a pure sonic experience. However, such position is not heretical to ethnomusicological orthodoxy – it complements this research. Examining the

* Conference proceeding and paper “The Presence of Rural Instruments in Serbia Today: The Case of *gajde*”, presented under the panel discussion (colaboration with Mirjana Zakić and Danka Lajić-Mihajlović) at the 18th Meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Folk Musical Instruments, held on 13-17 April 2011 in Stubičke Toplice, Croatia (see: Jakovljević, 2011 in Bibliography) is based on this chapter.

behavioural aspects of the given music and its marginal practitioner, I will try to show the contours of the music and musician that *appeared* in the framework of the public and private domains. Furthermore, the case will be examined on the margins between the ethnomusicologist's and his subject's enunciation, which will reveal the twofold nature of this complex reality under the contingencies of existence in the late capitalism.

On one summer morning, I was walking down the Knez Mihailova Street in Belgrade which represents the main pedestrian zone of a large city. Crowded with people and congested with many retail stores, Belgrade today very much resembles any other large European city. Yet, there was something rather different, something that belongs specifically to this location and condition, which at the same time points to an "error" in this urban scenery. As one walks through the crowd, many sounds of different musics can be almost simultaneously experienced. In fact, those sounds form a commodified noise, music that is used to "manipulate the moods of people and to alleviate the boredom of tedious walk", as Simon Frith recalls (2003:99). The street is known for its many musicians who make music on violins, accordions and other instruments. Almost every player has a small box in which people throw coins, while hurriedly moving down the street. Evidently, people show their appreciation for music, but they also know that the musicians are playing for money, making it hard to distinguish whether they do it for the sake of pure performance or for their survival, or perhaps both. In fact, the musicians in these circumstances are mostly perceived as beggars, while music is just one of the means of disguise, and a nice excuse for seeking help. Being set as a private matter, this art belongs to the musicians, more than to the other people that walk by. On the other hand, music situated in this liminal space should belong to the domains of public representation.¹¹⁶ Although I found this boulevard music quite impressive, that morning I was in a hurry to get to the Institute of Musicology, which is situated in the middle of this pedestrian street, in order to find some of the archive materials that I need for research on Serbian *gajde*. Suddenly, I heard

¹¹⁶ As one of the determinants of public situated activity in contemporary sense one could consider the fact that such activity is economically based. It could be presumed that "all public performances, for example, are open to anyone who has the price of admission, which means that the passing of money is an important factor in whatever values are established there" (Small, 1998:45).

the sounds of the *gajde* and, at first, I thought it was just a manifestation of my previous night, working on transcribing *gajde* music. I also knew almost every player on the street, and was practically convinced that there was very little chance of hearing *gajde* players on that street whatsoever. Yet, I could still hear the sound, and it seemed quite realistic. I thought that there could be only two explanations – either a player from some ethno ensemble was promoting their work, or it is a music student who uses *gajde* in order to make some money by amusing people on the street. Then I recognised the rather distinctive musical style, a dance that was performed in the traditionally old-style, with flourishing ornaments and a specific order to the structure that eventually confused me, and despite my great haste made me go back to see what was going on. As I approached, I caught sight of an old man sitting on a street bench and playing his music, not noticing that anybody was actually paying attention to him or even registering his playing as loudness, a noise (ex. 45). I was surprised with the fact that my fieldwork had come to me in a wonderful way and even more satisfied that there is someone who still know how to play the *gajde* in such rare style, so skilful, so well, so “authentic”. Moreover, I was convinced that his music also was a vehicle of his identification in a new cultural context and condition. The situation also reminded me of the words of Timothy Rice who pointed out that, “individuals created themselves and their culture in music” (1994:300). This player, with his music was actually trying to re-create his own identity, music and social conditions as he remembered them. He seemed to be a player marginalised in today’s modern conditions. As Stonequist asserted, he was a cultural hybrid, a marginal man that carried his “common historical memories” (1935:2) of the world to which he used to belong. After the player finished the dance, I approached and introduced myself, asking if we could arrange to make an interview. Next week we met at the same time and went to the Institute to make a recording.

My “subject” Voja Stanković (see §4.1) in fact is not entirely a subject in the sense that ethnomusicologists usually refer to their informants. He is a human being and therefore is sensitive to those shifts between public and private. What I actually asked from him was to exclude him from the public, in order to talk. After placing the cameras and microphones at the

Institute, I tried to make him more comfortable, although for us it seemed that it was not a natural condition. He began to talk about his memories, village intrigues and all about the life he lived and knew before. Born in a small south-eastern village, Babina poljana near Vranje, back in 1939 his first encounters with *gajde* were in circles of his relatives, and not so different from the circumstances of others. As a young boy, he simply had to play an instrument. He learned his first melodies as a servant/shepherd while, he also experienced music performed at gatherings like *sabor* and many other traditional events, occasions and customs in which music was maintained at the time. It means at that time a practice had its profiled private and public liabilities. At that time in his village there were almost twenty *gajdardžija* that influenced his learning process and music practice. The skill could not be learned as such, it had to be observed, and one needed to watch, catch and steal by eye and ear. He remembered that every year he was also active in the *koleda* ritual for the rise of a new Sun, and people appreciated him, people enjoyed much of his music (ex. 46). Yet, this idyll would come to an end when the Bulgarians penetrated their village, forcing Voja and his family to move to Vojvodina. Unwillingly transplanted to a seemingly different geo-cultural setting they felt marginalised. The fact that their habits and experiences were supposed to adjust to the mentality of Northern Serbia, which was evidently different, prevented them from responding properly to a new condition and new rules of life (ex. 47).

Plate 30.

Vojislav Stanković – Voja, Knez Mihailova street, Belgrade.



Being apparently placed in the middle, without exactly belonging to any of those locations he was undifferentiated, which is one of the main signs of marginalisation. Voja remembers how he could not play *gajde* as before because, “the land was flat, people played different *gajde*, and I just wanted at least once more to ride my horse and listen to the sounds of my *gajde*, how they echo from the high hills and mountains of my homeland”. It was evident that the new family never fused with the new surroundings and that they wanted to escape from it. However, imagining a traditional life, yet not fully participating in the new culture, made their limbo more evident. The only kind of *return* was achieved through contacts with their friends and relatives at small *sabor* where migrants from neighbouring villages gathered to dance and to recreate their lost communities. However, this could not make Voja play the *gajde*. After their return to the South, Voja and his family thought that their life would be normal again, but unfortunately they were wrong. *Sedenjke* and *sabor*’s vanished and population started to move from the villages in order to work in the cities. A new order was arising. (ex. 48)

Soon he went to Belgrade to work on the construction of the New Belgrade project, and as soon as the job was finished, he settled in the small village of Titel in the province of Vojvodina to work for another construction company. There was not much time to play music anymore. At that time, Voja also realised that accordions and *bleh* orchestras were dominant, and that music was now cultivated in new forms of festivals and Cultural Artistic Societies which discouraged him from performing music at all. Although he was considered a good craftsman, and his work at the construction sites was decently paid, his health deteriorated, resulting in frequent hospital visits, forcing him into early retirement. Unfortunately, his working status did not fulfill the criteria for a pension, and in the late 80s he got the status of a social case, thus receiving a symbolic amount that would not even satisfy his individual food costs. In the late 90s, following the turbulent political atmosphere, moral crisis and collapse of the economic system, caused by Milošević’s regime, Voja had to find other ways to survive. Probably the only place in the country where one could still earn at that time was Belgrade. He heard that many musicians perform music in Knez Mihailova Street, and that instead of begging this would be a decent way to earn some money without feeling ashamed. Several weeks before the NATO

intervention in 1999 Voja went with his neighbour to try his luck. He brought two instruments that he knew how to play – one two-voice *gajde* and *ćemane*, a small chordophone instrument. In fact, he was probably the only person who still plays it in the entire country. Without any rehearsals, he played tunes that he learned from local *gajdardžija*, while his neighbour sang Vojvodinian songs. Two seemingly different traditions still merged in a hybrid form, which brought them enough money to survive. People enjoyed watching their performances. Local people and foreigners gathered around them just to take pictures and record this amazing street performance. However, for many other people this was just an extraordinary circus – a public role-playing figure with his private musical capabilities, which now seemed uncanny (ex. 49).

Plate 31.

Vojislav Stanković – Voja, Knez Mihailova street, Belgrade.



Such a marginal state situates private devices of music, evident in a particular repertoire, which was formed in the conditions of traditional culture, located and established in circles of family and publically practiced in local village communities. Therefore, his music should now, as before be experienced and represented as an object for the public. However, as Richard Sennett asserts, it pointed to a different outcome; such a condition is connected more to the decline of the public domain *per se* because a large city tends to alienate people instead to cohere them – “The more social conditions erode the public forum, the more are people routinely inhibited from exercising the capacity to playact” (1974:29). Therefore Voja’s music was supposed to act as an agency, important not because it tried to re-establish traditional past and identities, but because in fact it recreates the public domain and expands its capacities. Unfortunately, music that was once considered as “purposeful”, effective or utilitarian, generally maintained in private and elaborated in public, was now experienced as interesting street artwork, an insignia of past/tradition or beauty which only established a public figure/role in a monument-like style, while in fact music and the musician himself were privatised by the actual interaction and effects that such music had over people on the street. The disproportion between role-playing figure and represented music defines this act and locates it as marginal and private, which is in deep collision with the nature of this traditional practice as such. The only aspects of its original presentation were preserved in visual resemblances of the player’s figure/role, the instrument as a material object, and the fact that the *gajde* were still performed in an open space as before. All musical potential was yet impossible to reach because temporal disjunctions could not negotiate his public role-playing, while people were mostly unable to draw connections with his music, given the fact that the repertoire he performed was far from their experience (cf. Bhabha, 1994:330). In the given conditions, the music have been perceived as any other street noise because of the lack of context that supports full interaction between musicians, audience and purpose, by which the meanings are generated, controlled and negotiated (Stokes, 1994:15). In this process of struggle, Voja unfortunately experienced a rather difficult situation imposed by further political issues. The authorities were not helpful either (ex. 50). Left alone on the street he had to make an additional effort to be motivated and to survive hard times on the street. On the other hand, some other music and some other players were trying

to make music according to the new situation. However, marginalised by other sounds from large instrumental bodies as in the ethno ensembles, the effects were the same as for Voja – the *gajde* in this music were also marginalised (ex. 51).

The feedback from the street “audience” was poor. In contradictory ways, music as a form of communication encountered to be at once familiar and the most incomprehensible object for people on the street (Bohlman, 2003:46). As the imbalance between public and private life has grown, people have become less expressive (Sennett, 1974:37). The transition period in Serbia caused changes in differentiation between public and private life that began to be less transparent in favour of the private domain. It seems that the more society experienced modernity the more the streets and lives were experienced in the framework of “homogenous empty time” as Walter Benjamin sees it,¹¹⁷ and “dead public spaces” as Sennett argues (Ibid.). People in Belgrade were becoming more cosmopolitan, which in a negative sense meant that people seemingly became remote and distant from each other. Areas where they used to interact and communicate, to playact and to perform their identities became dead public space where people just walk, evidently with the lack of their expressivity. Voja felt that he was somehow incapable of drawing attention. His music craft was not effective enough for isolated walking bodies and therefore he was robbed of his main powers. Being incapable of penetrating other institutions that still maintained memories of folklore, he has been finally deprived of his art.

Surveying the situations of the modern public life Sennett defines this profile and claims that “this public world has come to be lost in modern urban culture, a culture replacing the expressive life and identity of the public man with a new life, more personal, more authentic, and, all things considered, emptier” (1974:109). What this situation also reminds us of, is that the music is sensitive to how we react to it, how we experience it and how can music become meaningless if the listeners or any party to the performative process is not expressive.

¹¹⁷ In specific interpretation of “homogenous empty time” Benjamin believes that present moment is not merely important as a historical category and that in fact its meaning is no different from any other temporal instance and moment in this continuum. See more in: Benjamin, 1955:252-254.

The new condition, encouragement and his self-esteem influenced his participation in public life, as he tried more to interact, to playact, to amuse, communicate and arouse people by playing. Although the music reflected historical rather than present practice (Trimillos, 2004:35), he was evidently attempting to reintroduce indigenous music to the public domain through the most direct contact. Over the years, working as a boulevard musician Voja spread his activity to larger cities and places in Serbia by making small tours, performing each day in another city, resounding the town squares of Belgrade, Novi Sad and Ruma, therefore inducing people to interact, provoking them to act expressively. Today Voja indeed has the potential to become an essential part of public life, and to benefit from his marginal identity, trying to restore and to re-locate the *gajde* in an everyday context as they were located before. So far, his music can only provide sufficient financial support, waiting for someone to experience and respond to it (ex. 52).

Plate 32.

Vojislav Stanković – Voja, Carice Milice Street, Belgrade.



7 Conclusion: Sustaining Traditional Music in the Modern World

In the course of this study on marginality and music I have drawn on a wide range of different theoretical positions, conceptual categories and strategies in order to develop and interpret the situation of the *gajde* tradition in Serbia today, focusing in particular on historical, social, cultural and political developments. As one of the aims of this research, factors affecting the social maintenance of the tradition in the context of recent social and cultural developments have been identified in order to establish referential points from which we could begin to trace the process of marginalisation. In pursuing this aim we have raised questions concerning musical identity and its cultural grounds, the craft abilities of the musicians, and the function of their musical forms as expression of shared values. The challenge imposed by this study was also to reinforce the debate on the radical changes that have come about, not only in the social position of this musical tradition and musical practice, but also in the status of this music in the (post)modern world. I have argued, therefore, that such drastic changes affecting the status of the music, its performers, and the personal experiences of those involved in it provide a picture of a significant process of marginalisation that leads us to question our assumptions on the matter. The identity of this musical tradition, its social and cultural maintenance, and more recent developments that have made this tradition almost invisible, have been the fundamental issues addressed here. In conclusion, I should briefly consider the future.

What is the destiny of the *gajde* tradition in the modern world? This is not just a question of the survival of this particular musical tradition, but of traditional culture overall. It is, furthermore, a question that has been raised in various forms and that continues to preoccupy a large array of social, historical and theoretical disciplines. The basic problem, therefore, concerns what

modern societies should do with past traditions, with musical practices that have not sustained in the modern world. Do we need to keep them in their original form, and should we place them in the musical museum? Alternatively, should we develop and change them? On the other hand, indeed, should we simply abandon them? Under these circumstances, we could perhaps invoke Stonequist's basic idea that the marginal subject always tends to maintain some of the most important aspects of such difference – not losing the identity or “common historical memories” of the world to which he used to belong before (cf. 1935:2), while trying to find a distinct role in the modern social and cultural environment. Given the objective situation today, *gajde* music in Serbia is now in the process of disappearance, at least in its traditional or authentic form. The remnants of this specific musical tradition remain in those areas where the *gajde* players occupy the rims of cultural space, deeply aware of the conflicted sides of their identities and existence – traditional and modern. Therefore, the inability to reaffirm music and culture that they represent, their “intermediary role” within society, has never actually been accomplished to any significant level, and in that sense they became poised – being “homeless” in a cultural sense (cf. Weisberger, 1992: 440), or simply insufficiently stimulated by the dominant social structure and cultural setting to be able to resolve their marginalised status and the location in which they are set. For all reasons, the perspective of sustainability arises here as an important issue.

As the situation has radically changed, so the perspectives on the future existence of this particular musical tradition, on the performers and the contextual background need to become more attached to modern conditions. The role of applied ethnomusicology is therefore significant, because one of the aims should be to assist endangered musics by making the music available to people, either by formal or informal means of transmission, supporting the performance and production of the music (cf. Harrison and Pettan, 2010: 6-7), and neutralising the factors that are making local, ethnic, traditional and musical differences marginalised and causing them to be dissolved. It means that the last remaining generation of the *gajde* players and music that they still remember and perform should be brought to the public, to safeguard their identity, their potentials and continuity of this musical tradition, instead of consequently

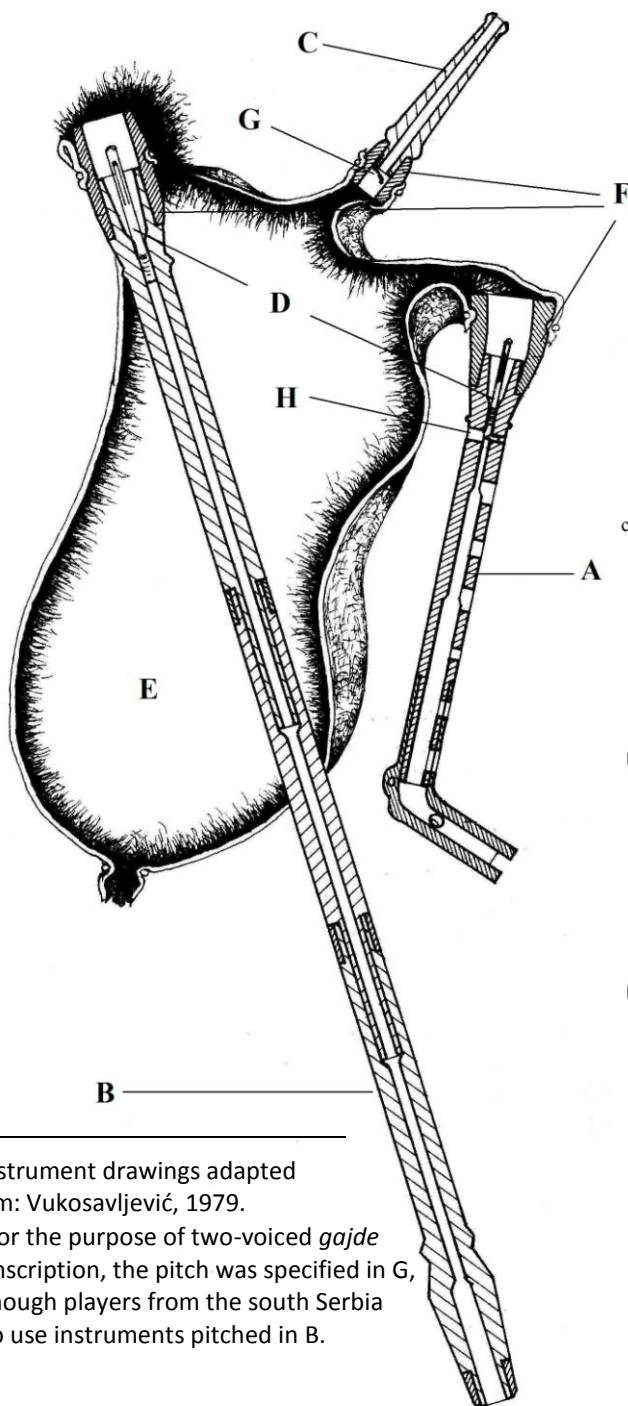
reinvent it. In these terms, ethnomusicologists should not only collect, safeguard or interpret music that was once performed, but they also need to advocate, to become active and responsible, in the sense of ensuring the preservation and future development of this musical practice, ensuring that the music-making process is sustained as an “intangible heritage”. The initiatives for organising specialized festivals of *gajde* music in Svrljig where this music would be represented, transmitted, maintained and popularised, provide the foundation for revival and act as a milestone in the further development of this endangered musical practice (Lajić-Mihajlović, 2011). In addition, the rich experience to be found in some other European societies, and the initiatives taken – i.e. in Slovakia, where the revival of the bagpipe tradition and the intervention of ethnomusicologists have had tremendously positive effects (see Garaj, 2011) also gives hope for the survival and future development of the *gajde* tradition in Serbia. What seems to be the first step of this process is to (re)create the kind of location in which the *gajde* tradition would have a chance to develop, either as an authentic cultural form, relying on the continuity that still exists, or as a revival, as in folklorism or in any stylistically similar form of representation, which would maintain the most important features of this musical and cultural phenomenon.

In attempting to grasp why the *gajde* tradition in Serbia was marginalised, we also need to understand what defines it, and in what terms, as well as under which circumstances this cultural practice became obsolete and almost forgotten among people. In the attempt to provide some answers, this study also represents a plea for the preservation of one of the most distinctive forms of musical identity in Eastern European culture that needs to re-locate for the future.

Appendix*

Two-voiced Type

A) South Morava Variant (in G)**



A = *gajdenica* (chanter)

B = *prdaljka* (drone)

C = *duvaljka* (blowpipe)

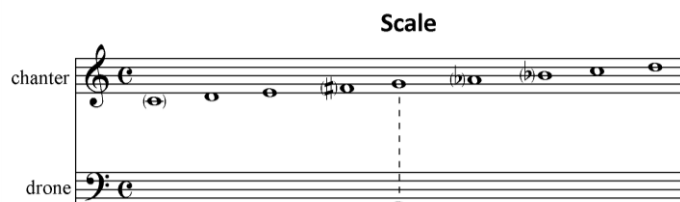
D = *pisak* (reeds)

E = *mešina* (bag)

F = *glavina* (stocks)

G = *zalipačka* (flap valve)

H = *mramorka* (flea hole)



Aplicature

R.H.	1 & 2	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	○
	3	●	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
L.H.	4	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
	2	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
	3	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
	4	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
	5	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

* Instrument drawings adapted from: Vukosavljević, 1979.

** For the purpose of two-voiced *gajde* transcription, the pitch was specified in G, although players from the south Serbia also use instruments pitched in B.

B) Vlachian Variant – Cărabă (in D)



Scale

chanter

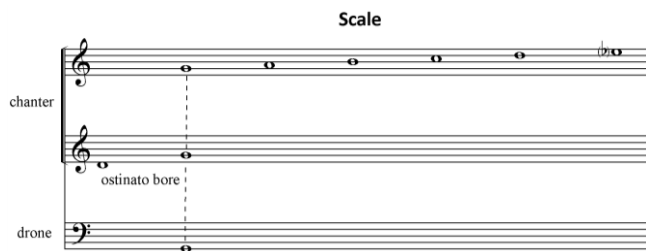
drone

Aplicature

[illegible]

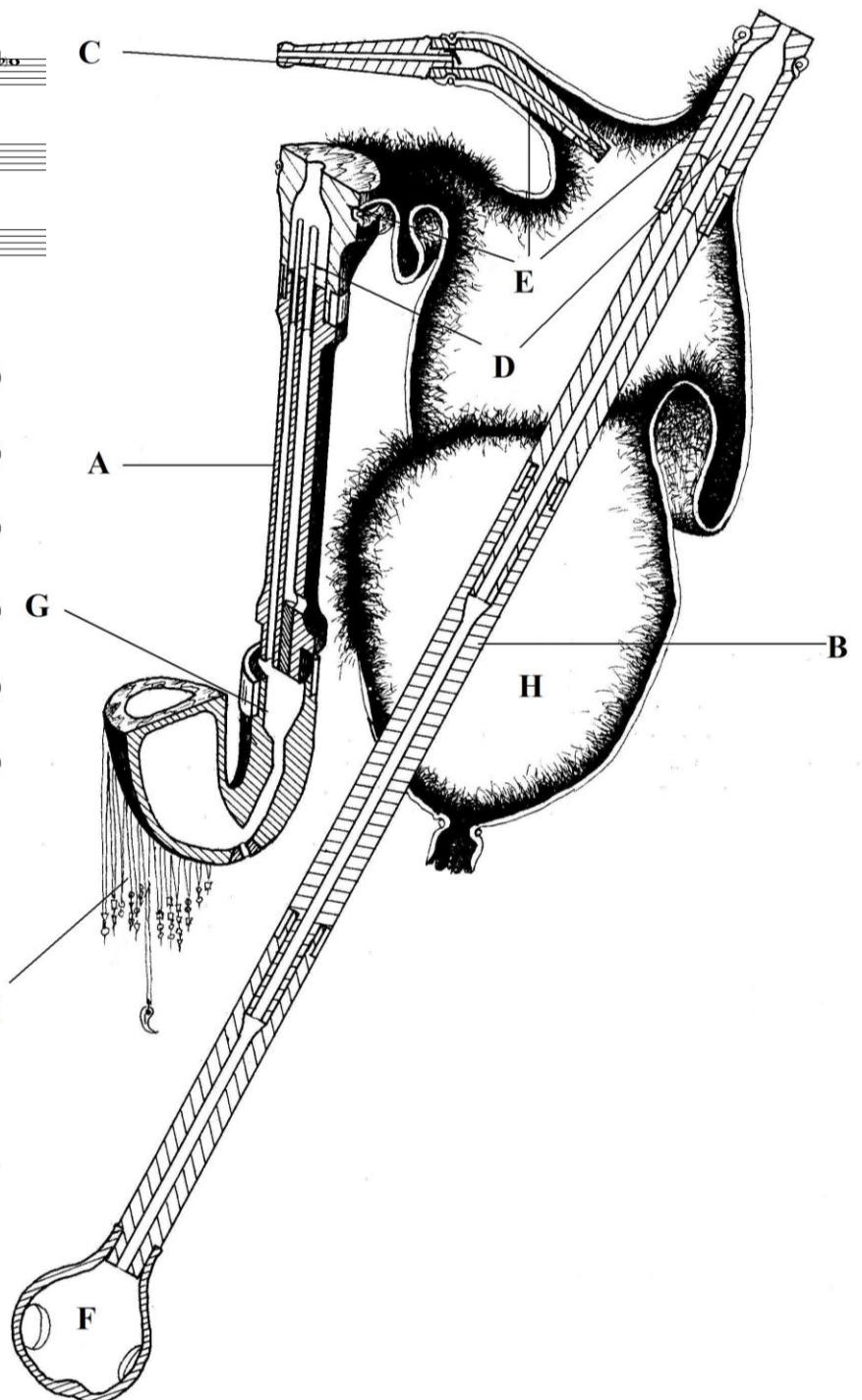
Three-voiced Type

A) *Svrljig Variant (in G)*



Apicature

R.H.	2	●	●	●	●	●	○
3	●	●	●	●	○	○	○
4	●	●	●	○	○	○	○
L.H.	2	●	●	●	○	○	○
3	●	●	○	○	○	○	○
4	●	○	○	○	○	○	○



A = *gajdenica/gajdarka* (chanter)

B = *prdak/prdalo* (drone)

C = *duvaljka/duvalo* (blowpipe)

D = *pisak* (reeds)

E = *glavina* (stocks)

F = *jabuka* (resonator)

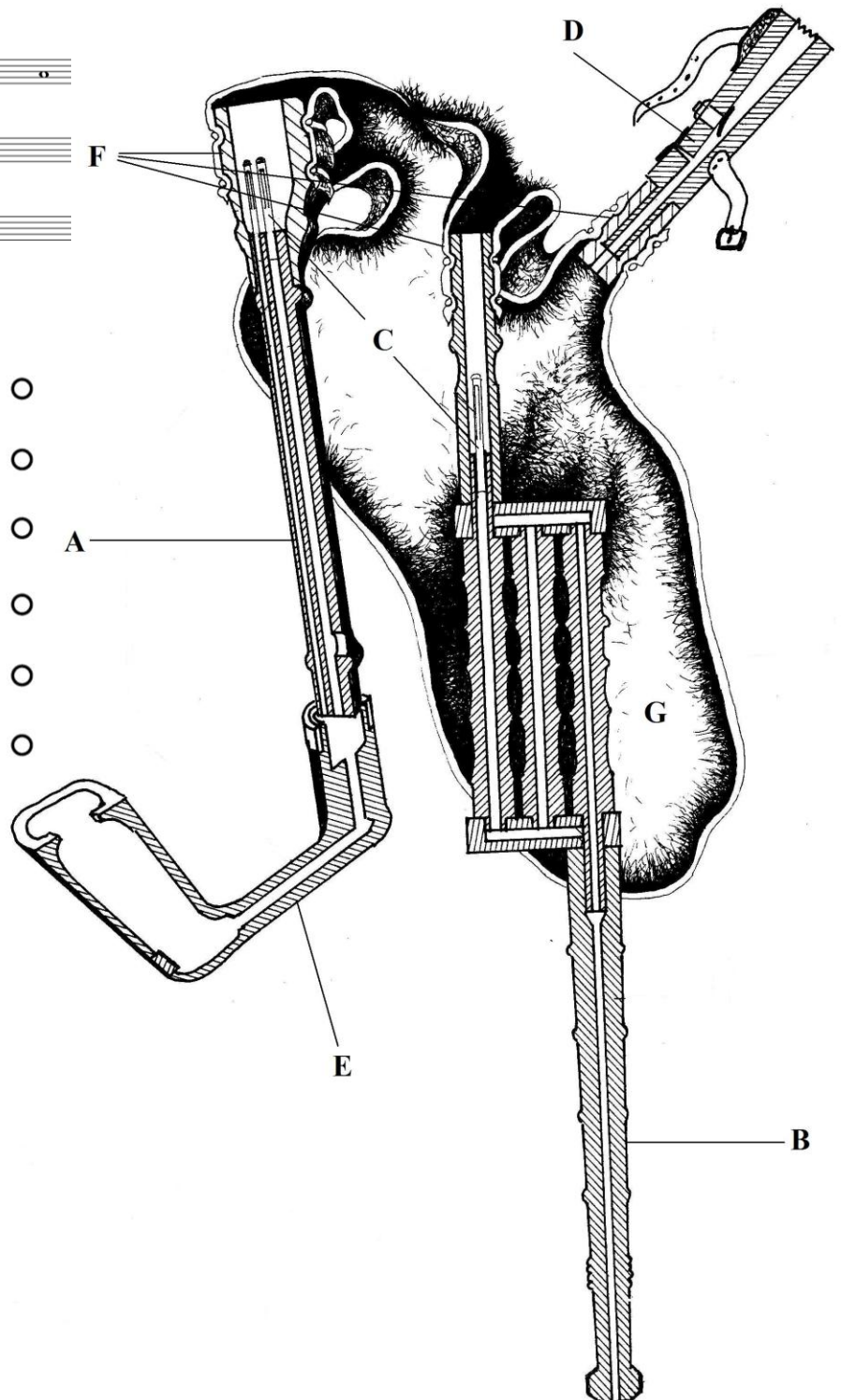
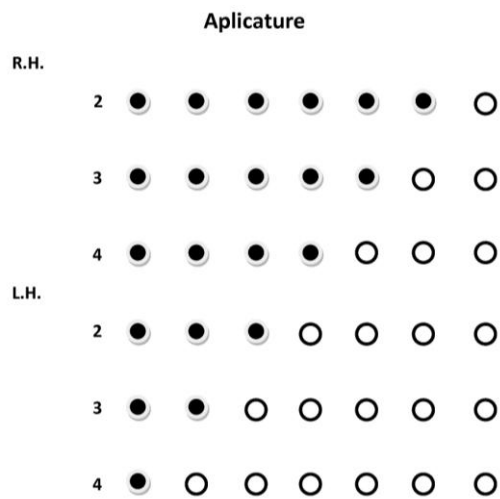
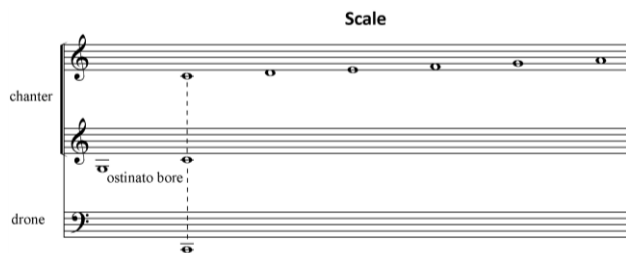
G = *rog* (horn)

H = *mešina* (bag)

I = *nakitalo/manistre* (trinkets)

Three-voiced Type

B) Banat Variant (in C)



A = *gajdenica/karaba* (chanter)

B = *prdaljka* (drone)

C = *pisak* (reeds)

D = *meh* (bellows)

E = *rog* (horn)

F = *glavina/čurka* (stocks)

G = *mešina* (bag)

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Pavle Cajić (Brujica) and Dragomir Vasiljević (Radenka), *gajde* duet, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1971, II, tr412.

Petar Dragičević, Halovo (Zaječar), recorded by Milica Ilijin, 1958, tr407.

Predrag Jovanović, Knjaževac, 5th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr289.

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Ranko Dimitrijević, Burdim, Svrlijig (1st *Pastirski Sabor in Svrlijig*), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1963, tr58 (3).

Slavko Cvetković, Lebane, 13th *Sabor in Topola*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ? tr81 (1).

Svetozar Đurić, Pančevo, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1986, tr322.

Todor Ivanović, Resnik, Sokobanja-Ozren, recorded by Ana Matović, 1971, tr259.

Todosije Blagojević, Orljane, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1978, tr120.

Toša Stošić, Prekadin (Prokuplje), recorded by Ana Matović, 1967, tr235.

Unknown performer, Sveti Nikola (Svrlijig), 5th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr291.

Unknown performer, Zdravinje (Kruševac), recorded by Ana Matović, tr386.

Unknown performer, 3rd *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1974, tr281.

Unknown performer, 4th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1975, tr287.

Unknown performer, 5th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr289.

Unknown performer, Banatsko novo selo-Dolovo, recorded by Ana Matović, 1981, tr317.

Unknown performer, Beloinje, Svrlijig (1st *Pastirski Sabor in Svrlijig*), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1963, tr58 (3).

Unknown performer, Blendija (Sokobanja), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1974, tr279.

Unknown performer, Boljevac (Crnorečje), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1978, tr419.

Unknown performer, Dobrnjevac (Boljevac), 5th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr289 and tr290.

Unknown performer, *Festival Sokobanja (Susreti sela Sokobanje '83)*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1983, tr78 (2).

Unknown performer, *Festival Sokobanja (Susreti sela Sokobanje '83)*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1983, tr78 (2).

Unknown performer, Gnjilane, 4th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1975, tr285.

Unknown performer, Hum-Niš, 5th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr288.

Unknown performer, Igrište, 4th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1975, tr286.

Unknown performer, Jarsenovo, 3rd *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1974, tr279.

Unknown performer, Jezero (Sokobanja), 4th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1975, tr285.

Unknown performer, Knjaževac, tr424.

Unknown performer, Kovilj, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1985, tr336.

Unknown performer, Ladovice (Vlasotince), 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ?, tr85 (2).

Unknown performer, Leskovac, 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ?, tr84 (t4).

Unknown performer, Manjak (Kruševo), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1972, tr258.

Unknown performer, Mužinac and Resnik (Sokobanja), 1st *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1972, tr271 (B).

Unknown performer, Okruglica-Svrlijig, 5th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr288.

Unknown performer, Orašac (Leskovac), 5th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr288.

Unknown performer, Padež (Kruševac), 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ? tr85 (2).

Unknown performer, Padež-Kruševac-Koncert in SASA, recorded by Ana Matović, 1985, tr403.

Unknown performer, Popovica, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1973, tr325.

Unknown performer, Prekopčelica (Lebane), 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ?, tr84 (t4).

Unknown performer, Prekopčelica, *Takmičenje sela*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, tr170.

Unknown performer, Rajčilovac (Bosilegrad), 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ?, tr83 (t1).

Unknown performer, Šarbanovac, *Festival Sokobanja (Susreti sela Sokobanje '83)*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1983, tr78 (1).

Unknown performer, Šarbanovac, *Festival Sokobanja (Susreti sela Sokobanje '83)*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ?, tr78 (1).

Unknown performer, Sićevo-Svetozarevo, 13th *Sabor in Topola*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ?, tr103.

Unknown performer, Stajkovce-Vlasotince, 5th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Ana Matović, 1976, tr291.

Unknown performer, Svrljig (1st *Pastirski Sabor in Svrljig*), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1963, tr56 (1).

Unknown performer, Tavankut, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1972, tr336.

Unknown performer, Vasilj (Knjaževac), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1974, tr62.

Unknown performer, Vasilj, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1974, tr278.

Unknown performer, Vlachian wedding ceremony, Kučevo, 1972, III, tr417.

Unknown performer, Vojnik (Prokuplje-Lebane), 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ?, tr85 (2).

Unknown performers, *ad hoc* orchestra, *gajde*, clarinet, *tapan*, Kučevo, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1972, II, tr416.

Unknown performers, *gajde* duet, Kučevo, 1974, I, tr418.

Vidoje ?, Lalinac, Svrljig (1st *Pastirski Sabor in Svrljig*), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1963, tr57 (2).

Vidoje Stamenković, (b. 1909), Tasković, Zaplanje, recorded by Radmila Petrović, tr300.

Vladislav Marković, Mužinac-Jezero-Sokobanja, recorded by Ana Matović, 1974, tr262.

Vlastimir Vučić, Okolište, recorded by Milica Ilijin, 1953, tr308.

Voja Milosavljević, Dobrjevac, recorded by Ana Matović, 1974, tr497.

Voja Milosavljević, Rujište (Boljevac), 8th *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, ?, tr85 (1).

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Vukašin Nikolić, Višnjevac, Svrljig (1st *Pastirski Sabor in Svrljig*), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1963, tr58 (3).

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Žarko Nikolić, Šabanovac, Sokobanja-Ozren, recorded by Ana Matović, 1971, tr259.

Zdravko Marković, Mužinac-Jezero-Sokobanja, recorded by Ana Matović, 1974, tr262.

Žika Kostić, Trubarevac, *Festival Sokobanja (Susreti sela Sokobanje '83)*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1983, tr78 (1).

Žika Kostić, Trubarevac, Sokobanja-Ozren, recorded by Ana Matović, 1971, tr259.

Živko ?, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1973, tr267.

Živojin Mladenović (*gajde*) and Aleksa Nikolić (frula), Osnić (Boljevac), recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1971, I, tr411.

Života Milošević, Resnik (Sokobanja), 2nd *Leskovački Sabor*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1973, tr277.

? Veljković, Kučevo, *Sabor in Kučevo*, recorded by Radmila Petrović, 1972, tr413.